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DIO'S

ANNALS OF ROME

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK

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DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY
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Antoninus begins his reign by having various persons assassinated, among them his brother Geta (chapters 1–3).

Cruelty of Antoninus toward Papinianus, Cilo, and others (chapters 4–6).

Antoninus as emulator of Alexander of Macedon (chapters 7, 8).

His levies and extravagance (chapters 9–11).

His treachery toward Abgarus of Osrhoene, toward the Armenian king, the Parthian king, and the Germans (chapters 12, 13).

The Cenni conquer Antoninus in battle (chapter 14).

He strives to drive out his disease of mind by consulting spirits and oracles (chapter 15).

Slaughter of vestals, insults to the senate, demise of others contrary to his mother's wishes (chapters 16–18).

Antoninus's Parthian war (chapters 19–21).

Massacres of Alexandrians caused by Antoninus (chapters 22–24).

DURATION OF TIME.

Q. Epidius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, Pomponius Bassus (A. D. 211 = a. u. 964 = First of Antoninus, from Feb. 4th).

C. Iulius Asper (II), C. Iulius Asper. (A. D. 212 = a. u. 965 = Second of Antoninus.)

Antoninus Aug. (IV), D. Cœlius Balbinus (II). (A. D. 213 = a. u. 966 = Third of Antoninus.)

Silius Messala, Sabinus. (A. D. 214 = a. u. 967 = Fourth of Antoninus.)

Lætus (II), Cerealis. (A. D. 215 = a. u. 968 = Fifth of Antoninus.)

C. Attius Sabinus (II), Cornelius Annullinus. (A. D. 216 = a. u. 969 = Sixth of Antoninus.)

—1—
A. D. 211
(a. u. 964)

After this Antoninus secured the entire power. Nominally he ruled with his brother, but in reality alone and at once. With the enemy he came to terms, withdrew from their country, and abandoned the forts. But his own people he either dismissed (as Papinianus the prefect) or else killed (as Euodus, his nurse, Castor, and his wife Plautilla, and the latter's brother Plautius). In Rome itself he also executed a man who was renowned for no other reason than his profession, which made him very conspicuous. This was Euprepes, the charioteer; he killed him when the man dared to show enthusiasm for a cause that the emperor opposed. So Euprepres died in old age after having been crowned in an endless number of horse-races. He had won seven hundred and eighty-two of them,— a record equaled by none other.

Antoninus had first had the desire to murder his brother while his father was still alive, but had been unable to do so at that time because of Severus, or later, on the road, because of the legions. The men felt very kindly toward the younger son, especially because in appearance he was the very image of his father. But when Antoninus arrived in Rome, he got rid of this rival also. The two pretended to love and commend each other, but their actions proved quite the reverse to be true, and anybody could see that some catastrophe would result from their relations. This fact was recognized even prior to their reaching Rome. When it had

A. D. 211 (*a. u.* 964) been voted by the senate to sacrifice in behalf of their harmony both to the other gods and to Harmony herself, the assistants made ready a victim to be sacrificed to Harmony and the consul arrived to do the slaughtering; yet he could not find them, nor could the assistants find the consul. They spent nearly the whole night looking for each other, so that the sacrifice could not be performed on that occasion. The next day two wolves climbed the Capitol, but were chased away from that region: one of them was next encountered somewhere in the Forum, and the other was later slain outside the pomerium. This is the story about those two animals.

—2— It was Antoninus's wish to murder his brother at the Saturnalia, but he was not able to carry out his intention. The danger had already grown too evident to be concealed. As a consequence, there were many violent meetings between the two,— both feeling that they were being plotted against,— and many precautionary measures were taken on both sides. As many

A. D. 212 (*a. u.* 965) soldiers and athletes, abroad and at home, day and night, were guarding Geta, Antoninus persuaded his mother to send for him and his brother and have them come along to her house with a view to being reconciled. Geta without distrust went in with him. When they were well inside, some centurions suborned by Antoninus rushed in in a body. Geta on seeing them had run to his mother, and as he hung upon her neck and clung to her bosom and breasts he was cut down, bewailing his fate and crying out: "Mother that bore me, mother

that bore me, help! I am slain!!" Tricked in this way, A. D. 212 (*a. u.* 965) she beheld her son perishing by most unholy violence in her very lap, and, as it were, received his death into her womb whence she had borne him. She was all covered with blood, so that she made no account of the wound she had received in her hand. She might neither mourn nor weep for her son, although untimely he had met so miserable an end (he was only twenty-two years and nine months old): on the contrary, she was compelled to rejoice and laugh as though enjoying some great piece of luck. All her words, gestures, and changes of color were watched with the utmost narrowness. She alone, Augusta, wife of the emperor, mother of emperors, was not permitted to shed tears even in private over so great a calamity.

—3— Antoninus, although it was evening, took possession of the legions after bawling all the way along the road that he had been the object of a plot and was in danger. On entering the fortifications, he exclaimed: "Rejoice, fellow-soldiers, for now I have a chance to benefit you!" Before they heard the whole story he had stopped their mouths with so many and so great promises that they could neither think nor speak anything decent. "I am one of you," he said, "it is on your account alone that I care to live, that so I may afford you much happiness. All the treasuries are yours." Indeed, he said this also: "I pray if possible to live with you, but if not, at any rate to die with you. I do not fear death in any form, and it is my desire to end

A. D. 212 (*a. u.* 965) my days in warfare. There should a man die, or nowhere!"

To the senate on the following day he made various remarks and after rising from his seat he went towards the door and said: "Listen to a great announcement from me. That the whole world may be glad, let all the exiles, who have been condemned on any complaint whatever in any way whatever, be restored to full rights." Thus did he empty the islands of exiles and grant pardon to the worst condemned criminals,

—4— but before long he had the isles full again. The Cæsarians and the soldiers that had been with Geta were suddenly put to death to the number of twenty thousand, men and women alike, wherever in the palace any of them happened to be. Antoninus slew also various distinguished men, among them Papinianus.

¶ While the Pretorians accused Papianus (*sic*) and Patruinus[1] for certain actions, Antoninus allowed the complainants to kill them, and added the following remark: "I hold sway for your advantage and not for my own; therefore, I defer to you both as accusers and as judges."

He rebuked the murderer of Papinianus for using an axe instead of a sword to give the finishing stroke.

He had also desired to deprive of life Cilo, his nurse and benefactor, who had served as prefect of the city during his father's reign, whom he had also often called father. The soldiers sent against him plundered his silver plate, his robes, his money, and everything else that belonged to him. Cilo himself they conducted along the Sacred Way, making the palace their destination, where they

[1] This is Valerius Patruinus.

prepared to give him his quietus. He had low slippers[1] on his feet, since he had chanced to be in the bath when apprehended, and wore an abbreviated tunic. The men rent his clothing open and disfigured his face, so that the people and the soldiers stationed in the city made clamorous objections. Therefore Antoninus, out of respect and fear for them, met the party, and, shielding Cilo with his cavalry cloak,— he was wearing military garb,— cried out: "Insult not my father! Strike not my nurse!" The tribune charged with slaying him and the soldiers in his contingent lost their lives, nominally for making plots but really for not having killed their victim. A. D. 212 (*a. u.* 965)

[But Antoninus was so anxious to appear to love Cilo that he declared: "Those who have plotted against him have plotted against me." Commended for this by the bystanders, he proceeded: "Call me neither Hercules nor the name of any other god;" not that he was unwilling to be termed a god, but because he wished to do nothing worthy of a god. He was naturally capricious in all matters, and would bestow great honors upon people and then suddenly disgrace them, quite without reason. He would save those who least deserved it and punish those whom one would never have expected. —5—

Julianus Asper was a man by no means contemptible, on account of his education and good sense as well.

1 Reading *βλαύτας* in the place of the MS. *χλάπας*. This emendation is favored by Cobet (Mnemosyne, N. S., X, p. 211) and Naber (Mnemosyne, N. S., XVI, p. 113).

A. D. 212 (*a. u.* 965) He exalted him, together with his sons, and after Asper had walked the streets surrounded by I don't know how many fasces he without warning insulted him outrageously and dismissed him to his native place[1] with abuse and in mighty trepidation.

Lætus, too, he would have disgraced or even killed, had this man not been extremely sick. So the emperor before the soldiers called his sickness "wicked," because it did not allow him to display wickedness in one more case.

Again he made way with Thrasea Priscus, a person second to none in family or intelligence.

Many others also, previously friends of his, he put to death.]

—6— "Nay, I could not recite nor give the names all over"[2]

of the distinguished men whom he killed without any right. Dio, because the slain were very well known in those days, even makes a list of them. For me it suffices to say that he crushed the life out of everybody he chose, without exception,

"whether the man was guilty or whether he was not";[3]

and that he simply mutilated Rome, by rendering it bereft of excellent men. [Antoninus was allied to three races. And he possessed not a single one of their good points, but included in himself all their vices. The lightness, the cowardice, and recklessness of Gaul were his, the roughness and cruelty of Africa, the

1 I. e., Tusculum.
2 From Homer's Iliad, II, verse 488.
3 From Homer's Iliad, XV, verse 137.

abominations of Syria (whence he was on his mother's side).] Veering from slaughter to sports, he pursued his murderous course no less in the latter. Of course one would pay no attention to an elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, and hippotigris being killed in the theatre, but he took equal pleasure in having gladiators shed the greatest amount of one another's blood. One of them, Bato, he forced to fight three successive men on the same day, and then, when Bato met death at the hands of the last, he honored him with a conspicuous burial. A. D. 212 (*a. u.* 965)

—7—

He had Alexander on the brain to such an extent that he used certain weapons and cups which purported to have belonged to the great conqueror, and furthermore he set up many representations of him both among the legions and in Rome itself. He organized a phalanx, sixteen thousand men, of Macedonians alone, named it "Alexander's phalanx," and equipped it with the arms which warriors had used in his day. These were: a helmet of raw oxhide, a three-ply linen breastplate, a bronze shield, long pike, short spear, high boots, sword. Not even this, however, satisfied him, but he called his hero "The Eastern Augustus." Once he wrote to the senate that Alexander had come on earth again in the body of the Augustus,[1] so that when he had finished his own brief existence he might enjoy a larger life in the emperor's person. The so-called Aristotelian philosophers he hated bitterly, wishing even to burn their books, and he abolished the common messes they had in Alexandria and all the other privileges they enjoyed: his grievance, as stated, was the

[1] Antoninus meant himself.

A D. 212 (*a. u.* 965) tradition that Aristotle had been an accomplice in the death of Alexander.

This was the way he behaved in those matters. And, by Jupiter, he took around with him numbers of elephants, that in this respect, too, he might seem to be imitating Alexander, or rather, perhaps, Dionysus.

—8— On Alexander's account he was fond of all the Macedonians. Once after praising a Macedonian tribune because the latter had shown agility in jumping upon his horse, he enquired of him first: "From what country are you?" Then, learning that he was a Macedonian, he pursued: "What is your name?" Having thereupon heard that it was Antigonus, he further questioned: "How was your father called?" When the father's name was found to be Philip, he declared: "I have all my desire." He straightway bestowed upon him the whole series of exalted military honors and before a great while appointed him one of the senators with the rank of an ex-prætor.

There was another man who had no connection with Macedonia, but had committed many dreadful crimes, and for this reason was tried before him in an appealed case. His name proved to be Alexander, and when the orator accusing him said repeatedly "the bloodthirsty Alexander, the god-detested Alexander," the emperor became angry, as if he were personally slandered, and spoke out: "If Alexander doesn't suit you, you may regard yourself as dismissed."

—9— Now this great Alexandrophile, Antoninus, [kept many men about him, alleging reasons after reasons,

all fictitious, and wars upon wars. He had also this most frightful characteristic, that he was fond of spending money not only upon the soldiers but for all other projects with one sole end in view,— to] strip, despoil and grind down all mankind, and the senators by no means least. [In the first place, there were gold crowns that he kept demanding, on the constant pretext that he had conquered some enemy or other (I am not speaking about the actual manufacture of the crowns,— for what does that amount to?— but the great sums of money constantly being given under that name by the cities, for the "crowning" (as it is called) of their emperors). Then there was the provisions which we were all the time levying in great abundance from all quarters, sometimes seizing them without compensation and sometimes spending a little something on them: all this supply he presented or else peddled to the soldiers. And the gifts, which he demanded from wealthy individuals and from states. And the taxes, both the new ones which he published and the ten per cent. tax that he instituted in place of the twenty per cent. to apply to the emancipation of slaves, to bequests left to any one, and to all gifts; for he abolished in such cases the right of succession and exemption from taxes which had been accorded to those closely related to persons deceased. This accounts for his giving the title of Romans to all the men in his empire. Nominally it was to honor them, but his real purpose was to get an increased income by such means, since foreigners did not have to pay most of those

A. D. 212 (a. u. 965)

A. D. 212 (*a. u.* 965) taxes. But aside from all these] we were also compelled to build at our own expense all sorts of dwellings for him whenever he took a trip from Rome, and costly lodgings in the middle of even the very shortest journeys. Yet not only did he never live in them but he had no idea of so much as looking at a single one. Moreover, without receiving any appropriation from him we constructed hunting-theatres and race-courses at every point where he wintered or expected to winter. They were all torn down without delay and apparently the sole purpose of their being called into existence was to impoverish us.

—10— The emperor himself kept spending the money upon the soldiers (as we said) and upon beasts and horses. He was forever killing great collections of wild beasts, of horses, and also of domestic animals, forcing us to contribute the majority of them, though now and then he bought a few. One day he slew a hundred boars at once with his own hands. He raced also in chariots, and then he would wear the Blue costume. In all undertakings he was exceedingly hot-headed and exceedingly fickle, and besides this he possessed the rascality of his mother and of the Syrians, to which race she belonged. He would put up some kind of freedman or other wealthy person as director of games merely that in this occupation, too, the man might spend money. From below he would make gestures of subservience to the audience with his whip and would beg for gold pieces like one of the lowliest citizens. He

said that he used the same methods of chariot-driving as the Sun god, and he took pride in the fact. Accordingly, during the whole extent of his reign the whole earth, so far as it yielded obedience to him, was plundered. Hence the Romans once at a horse-race uttered this among other cries: "We are destroying the living in order to bury the dead." The emperor would often say: "No man need have money but me, and I want it to bestow it on the soldiers." Once when Julia chided him for his great outlays upon them and said: "No longer is any resource, either just or unjust, left to us," he replied, exhibiting his sword: "Cheer up, mother: for, as long as we have this, money is not going to fail us." A. D. 212 (*a. u.* 965)

To those who flattered him, however, he distributed possessions and money. —11—

¶ Julius Paulus[1] was a man of consular rank, who was a great chatterer and joker and would not refrain from aiming his shafts of wit at the very emperors: therefore Severus had him taken into custody, though without constraints. When he still continued, even under guard, to make the sovereigns the objects of his jests, Severus sent for him and swore that he would cut off his head. But the man replied: "Yes, you can cut it off, but as long as I have it, neither you nor I can restrain it," and so Severus laughed and released him.

He granted to Julius Paulinus twenty-five myriads because the man, who was a jester, had been led, though involuntarily, to make a joke upon him. Paulinus had said that he actually resembled a man getting angry, for somehow he was always assuming a fierce expres-

[1] Undoubtedly a mistake for the *Julius Paulinus* subsequently mentioned.

A. D. 212 (*a. u.* 965)

sion.[1]— Antoninus made no account of anything excellent: he never learned anything of the kind, as he himself admitted. So it was that he showed a contempt for us, who possessed something approaching education. Severus, to be sure, had trained him in all pursuits, bar none, that tended to inculcate virtue, whether physical or mental, so that even after he became emperor he went to teachers and studied philosophy most of the day. He also took oil rubbings without water and rode horseback to a distance of seven hundred and fifty stades. Moreover, he practiced swimming even in rough water. In consequence of this, Antoninus was, as you might say, strong, but he paid no heed to culture, since he had never even heard the name of it. Still, his language was not bad, nor did he lack judgment, but he showed in almost everything a keen appreciation and talked very readily. For through his authority and recklessness and his habit of saying right out without reflection anything at all that occurred to him, and not

[1] None of the editors, any more than the casual reader, has been able to find anything of a sidesplitting nature in this joke. The trouble is, of course, that the utterance sounds like a plain statement of fact. Caracalla's natural disposition was harsh and irritable. Some have changed the word "man" to "Pan (in anger)", but without gaining very much. I offer for what it is worth the suggestion that a well-known truth, especially in the case of personal characteristics, may sound very amusing when pronounced in a quizzical or semi-ironical fashion by a person possessing sufficient *vis comica*. Thus we may conceive Paulinus, a professional jester, on meeting Antoninus to have blurted out in a tone of mock surprise: "Why, anybody would really think you are angry. You look so cross all the time!" There would then be a point in the jest, but the point would lie not in the words but in the voice and features of the speaker. Apart from this explanation of the possible humor of the remark an excerpt of Peter Patricius (Exc. Vat. 143) gives us to understand that it would be taken as a compliment by Antoninus from the mouth of a person to whom he was accustomed to accord some liberties, since Antoninus made a point of maintaining at all times this character of harshness and abruptness.

being ashamed to air his thoughts, he often stumbled upon some felicitous expression. [But the same Antoninus made many mistakes through his headstrong opinions. It was not enough for him to know everything: he wanted to be the only one who knew anything. It was not enough for him to have all power: he would be the only one with any power. Hence it was that he employed no counselor and was jealous of such men as knew something worth while. He never loved a single person and he hated all those who excelled in anything; and most did he hate those whom he affected most to love. Many of these he destroyed in some way or other. Of course he had many men murdered openly, but others he would send to provinces not suited to them, fatal to their physical condition, having an unwholesome climate; thus, while pretending to honor them excessively, he quietly got rid of them, exposing such as he did not like to excessive heat or cold. Hence, though he spared some in so far as not to put them to death, yet he subjected them to such hardships that the stain[1] of murder still rested on him. A. D. 212 (*a. u.* 965)

—12—

The above describes him in general terms. Now we shall state what sort of person he showed himself in war. [Abgarus, king of the Osrhoeni, when he had once got control of the kindred tribes, inflicted the A. D. 213(?)

1 This is very likely an incorrect translation of an incorrect reading. The various editors of Dio have a few substitutes to propose, but as all the interpretations seem to me extremely lumbering I have turned the MS. *κηλιδοῦσθαι* (taken as a passive) in a way that may be not quite beyond the bounds of possibility. The noun *κηλίς* like the English "stain," often passes from its original sense of "blemish" to that of the consequent "disgrace."

A. D. 213(?) most outrageous treatment upon his superiors. Nominally he was compelling them to change to Roman customs, but in fact he was making the most of his authority over them in an unjustifiable way.] He tricked the king of the Osrhoeni, Abgarus, inducing him to visit him as a friend, and then arrested and imprisoned him. This left Osrhoene without a ruler and he subdued it.

The king of the Armenians had a dispute with his own children and Antoninus summoned him in a friendly letter with the avowed purpose of making peace between them: he treated these princes in the same fashion as he had Abgarus. The Armenians, however, instead of yielding to him had recourse to arms and not one of them thereafter would trust him in the slightest particular. Thus he was brought by experience to understand how great the penalty is for an emperor's practicing deceit toward friends. [The same ruler assumed the utmost credit for the fact that at the death of Vologæsus, king of the Parthians, his children proceeded to fight about the sovereignty; what was purely accidental he pretended had come about through his own connivance. He ever took vehement delight in the actions and dissensions of the brothers and generally in the mutual slaughter of foreign potentates.] He did not hesitate, either, to write to the senate regarding the rulers of the Parthians (who were brothers and at variance) that the brothers' quarrel would work great harm to the Parthian state. Just

as if barbarian governments could be destroyed by such procedure and yet the Roman state had been preserved! Just as if it had not been, on the contrary, almost utterly overthrown! It was not merely that the great sums of blood money given under such conditions to the soldiers for his brother's murder served to demoralize mankind: in addition, vast numbers of citizens had information laid against them,— not only those who had sent the brother letters or had brought him presents[1] when he was still Cæsar or again after he had become emperor, but all the rest who had never had any dealings with him. If anybody even so much as wrote the name of Geta, or spoke it, that was the end of him then and there. Hence the poets no longer used it even in comedies.[2] The property, too, of all those in whose wills the name was found written was confiscated. A. D. 213 (?)

[Many of his acts were committed with a view to getting money.

And he exhibited his hatred for his dead brother by abolishing the honor paid to his birthday, by getting angry at the stones which had supported his images, and by melting up the coinage that displayed his features. Not even this sufficed him, but more than ever from this time he began his practice of unholy rites and often forced others to share his pollution by making a kind of annual offering to his brother's Manes.]

1 Reading *δωροφορήσαντες* (Reimar) for the MS. *δορυφορήσαντες*.

2 Geta was a common name for slaves in Latin comedy. It came into Rome through Greek channels and was originally merely the national adjective applied to a tribe of northern barbarians.

(— 13 —)
A. D. 213 (?)

Though holding such views and behaving in such a way with regard to the latter's murder he took delight in the dissension of the barbarian brothers, on the ground that the Parthians would suffer some great injury as a result of it.

A. D. 213
(*a. u.* 966)

[The Celtic nations, however, afforded him neither pleasure nor any pretence of cleverness or courage but proved him to be nothing more nor less than a cheat, a simpleton, and an arrant coward. Antoninus made a campaign among the Alamanni and wherever he saw a spot suitable for habitation he would order: "There let a fort be erected: there let a city be built." To those spots he applied names relating to himself, yet the local designations did not get changed; for some of the people were unaware of the new appellations and others thought he was joking. Consequently he came to entertain a contempt for them and would not keep his hands off this tribe even; but, whereas he had been saying that he had come as an ally, he accorded them treatment to be expected of a most implacable foe. He called a meeting of their men of military age under promise that they were to receive pay, and then at a given signal,— his raising aloft his own shield,— he had them surrounded and cut down; he also sent cavalry around and arrested all others not present.

¶ Antoninus commended in the senate by means of a letter Pandion, a fellow who had previously been an understudy of charioteers but in the war against the Alamanni drove his chariot for him and in this capacity was his comrade and fellow soldier. And he asserted that he had been saved by this man from a portentous danger and was not ashamed to evince greater grati-

tude to him than to the soldiers, whom in their turn he regarded as our superiors.[1] A. D. 213 (*a. u.* 966)

¶ Some of the most distinguished men whom Antoninus slew he ordered to be cast out unburied.

¶ He made a search for the tomb of Sulla and repaired it, and reared a cenotaph to Mesomedes, who had written a compilation of citharœdic modes. He honored the latter because he was himself learning to sing to the zither and the former because he was emulating his cruelty.]

Still, in cases of necessity and urgent campaigns, he —13— was simple and frugal, toiling with painstaking care in menial offices as much as the rest. He trudged beside the soldiers and ran beside them, not taking a bath nor changing his clothing, but helping them in every labor and choosing absolutely the same food as they had. Often he would send to distinguished champions on the enemy's side and challenge them to single combat. The details of generalship in which he certainly ought to have been most versed he managed least well, as if he thought that victory lay in the performance of those services mentioned and not in this science of commanding.

He conducted war also against a certain Celtic tribe —14— of Cenni. These warriors are said to have assailed the Romans with the utmost fierceness, using their mouths to pull from their flesh the missiles with which the Osrhoeni wounded them, that they might give their

[1] There is a gap of a word or two here (Dindorf text), filled by reading ἦγεν ἔχων (with Boissevain).

A. D. 213 (*a. u.* 966) hands no respite in slaughtering the foe. Nevertheless even they, after selling the name of defeat at a high figure, made an agreement with him to go into Germany on condition of being spared. Their women [and those of the Alamanni] all who were captured [would not, in truth, await a servile doom, but] when Antoninus asked them whether they desired to be sold or slain, chose the latter alternative. Afterward, as they were offered for sale, they all killed themselves and some of their children as well. [Many also of the people dwelling close to the ocean itself, near the mouth of the Albis, sent envoys to him and asked his friendship, when their real concern was to get money. For after he had done as they desired, they would frequently attack him, threatening to begin a war; and with all such he came to terms. Even though his offer was contrary to their principles, yet when they saw the gold pieces they were captivated. To them he gave true gold pieces, but the silver and gold money with which he provided the Romans was alloyed.] He manufactured the one of lead with a silver plating and the other of bronze with a gold plating.

—15— [The same ruler published some of his devices directly, pretending that they were excellent and worthy of commendation, however base their actual character. Other intentions he rather unwillingly made known through the very precautions which he took to conceal them, as, for example, in the case of the money. He plundered the whole land and the whole sea and left nothing whatever unharmed. The chants of the

enemy made Antoninus frenzied and beside himself, A. D. 213 (*a. u.* 966) hearing which some of the Alamanni asserted that they had used charms to put him out of his mind.] He was sick in body, partly with ordinary and partly with private diseases, and was sick also in mind, suffering from distressing visions; and often he thought he was being pursued by his father and his brother, armed with swords. Therefore he called up spirits to find some remedy against them, among others the spirit of his father and of Commodus. But not one would speak a word to him except Commodus. [Geta, so they say, attended Severus, though unsummoned. Yet not even he offered any suggestion to relieve the emperor, but on the contrary terrified him the more.] This is what he said:

"Draw nearer judgment, which the gods demand of thee[1] for Severus,"

then something else, and finally—

"having in secret places a disease hard to heal."

[For letting these facts become public many suffered A. D. 215 (*a. u.* 968) unseemly outrage. But to Antoninus not one of the gods gave any response pertaining to the healing of either his body or his mind, although he showered attention upon all the most distinguished shrines. This showed in the clearest light that they regarded not his offerings, nor his sacrifices, but only his purposes and his deeds. He got no aid from Apollo Grannus[2]

1 Emended (by Fabricius and Reiske) from a corruption in the MS.

2 Grannus was really a Celtic god, merely identified with Apollo. He was honored most in Germany and Dacia (also known in Rhætia, Noricum), and, inasmuch as many inscriptions bearing his name have been found near the Danube, it may probably be conjectured that he had a temple of some importance in that vicinity. For further details see Pauly, II, p. 46; Roscher, I, col. 1738.

A. D. 215 (*a. u.* 968) nor Asclepius nor Serapis, in spite of his many supplications and his unwearying persistence. Even when abroad he sent to them prayers and sacrifices and votive offerings and many runners traveled to them daily, carrying things of the sort. He also went himself, hoping to prevail by appearing in person, and he performed all the usual practices of devotees, but he obtained nothing that would contribute to health.

—16— While declaring that he was the most scrupulous of all mankind, he ran to an excess of bloodguiltiness,] killing four of the vestal virgins, one of whom — so far as he was able — he had forcibly outraged. For latterly all his sexual power had disappeared, as a result of which it was reported that he satisfied his vileness in a different way; and associated with him were others of similar inclinations, who not only admitted that they were given to such practices but maintained that they did so for the sake of their ruler's welfare.

A young knight carried a coin with his image into a brothel and people informed against him.[1] For this he was at the time imprisoned to await execution, but later was released, as the emperor died before he did.] This maiden of whom I speak was named Clodia Læta. She, crying out loudly, "Antoninus himself knows that I am a virgin, [he himself knows that I am pure,]" was buried alive. [Three others shared her sentence. Two of them, Aurelia Severa and Pom-

[1] Conjecture, on the basis of Reiske and Bekker.

ponia Rufina, met a similar death, but Cannutia Crescentina threw herself from the top of the house. A. D. 215 (*a. u.* 968)

And in the case of adulterers he did the same. For though he showed himself the most adulterous of men (so far, at least, as he was physically able) he both detested others who bore the same charge and killed them contrary to established laws.—Though displeased at all good men, he affected to honor some few of them after their death.—

¶ Antoninus censured and rebuked them all because they asked nothing of him. And he said, in the presence of all: "It is evident from the fact that you ask nothing of me that you lack confidence in me. And if you lack confidence, you are suspicious of me; and if you are suspicious of me, you fear me; and if you fear me, you hate me." He made this an excuse for severe measures.

¶ Antoninus being about to cáuse Cornificia to take leave of earth bade her (as a token of honor) choose what death she wished to die. She, after many lamentations, inspired by the memory of her father, Marcus, her grandfather, Antoninus, and her brother, Commodus, ended with this speech: "Pining, unhappy soul of mine, shut in a vile body, make forth, be free, show them that you are Marcus's daughter, whether they will or no!" Then she laid aside all the adornment in which she was arrayed, and having composed her limbs in seemly fashion severed her veins and died.

Next, Antoninus arrived in Thrace, paying no further heed to Dacia. Having crossed the Hellespont, A. D. 214 (*a. u.* 967)

A. D. 214 (*a. u.* 967) not without danger, he did honor to Achilles with sacrifices and races, in armor, about the tomb, in which he as well as the soldiers participated. For this he gave them money, assuring them that they had won a great success and had in very truth captured that famous Ilium of old, and he set up a bronze statue of Achilles himself.]

¶ Antoninus by arriving at Pergamum, while there was some dispute about it,[1] seemed to bring to fulfillment the following verse, according to some oracle:

"O'er the Telephian land shall prowl the Ausonian beast."

He took a lasting delight and pride in the fact that he was called "beast," and his victims fell in heaps. The man who had composed the verse used to laugh and say that he was in very truth himself the verse-maker (thereby indicating that no one may die contrary to the will of fate, but that the common saying is true, which declares that liars and deceivers are never believed, even if they tell the truth).

— 17 — He held court but little or not at all. Most of his leisure he devoted to meddlesomeness as much as anything. People from all quarters brought him word of all the most insignificant occurrences. For this reason he gave orders that the soldiers who kept their eyes and ears wide open for these details should be liable to punishment by no one save himself. This enactment, too, produced no good result, but we had a new

1 The sense of these words is not clear. Boissevain conjectures that there may have been some who doubted whether an emperor so diseased would ever live to reach Mysia.

set of tyrants in them. But the thing that was especially unseemly and most unworthy, both of the senate and of the Roman people,— we had a eunuch to domineer over us. He was a native of Spain, by name Sempronius Rufus, and his occupation that of a sorcerer and juggler (for which he had been confined on an island by Severus). This fellow was destined to pay the penalty for his conduct, as were also the rest who laid information against others. As for Antoninus, he would send word that he should hold court or transact any other public business directly after dawn; but he kept putting us off till noon and often till evening, and would not even admit us to the antechamber, so that we had to stand about outside somewhere. Usually at a late hour he decided that he would not even exchange greetings with us that day. Meanwhile he was largely engaged in gratifying his inquisitiveness, as I said, or was driving chariots, killing beasts, fighting as a gladiator, drinking, enjoying the consequent big head, mixing great bowls (beside their other food) for the soldiers that kept guard over him within, and sending round cups of wine (this last before our very face and eyes). At the conclusion of all this, once in a while he would hold court. A. D. 214 (*a. u.* 967)

That was his behavior while in winter-quarters at Nicomedea. He also trained the Macedonian phalanx. He constructed two very large engines for the Armenian and for the Parthian war, so that he could take them to pieces and carry them over on boats into Syria. For the rest, he was staining himself with more —18— A. D. 214–215

A. D. 214–215 blood and transgressing laws and using up money Neither in these matters nor in any others did he heed his mother, who gave him much excellent advice. This in spite of the fact that he entrusted to her the management of the books and letters both, save the very important ones, and that he inscribed her name with many praises in his letters to the senate, mentioning it in the same connection as his own and that of his armies, i. e., with a statement that she was *safe*. Need it be mentioned that she greeted publicly all the foremost men, just as her son did? But she continued more and more her study of philosophy with these persons. He kept declaring that he needed nothing beyond necessities, and gave himself airs over the fact that he could get along with the cheapest kind of living. Yet there was nothing on earth or in the sea or in the air that we did not keep furnishing him privately and publicly. [Of these articles he used extremely few for the benefit of the friends with him (for he no longer cared to dine with us), but the most of them he consumed with his freedmen. Such was his delight in magicians and jugglers that he commended and honored Apollonius[1] of Cappadocia, who had flourished in Domitian's reign and was a thoroughgoing juggler and magician; and he erected a heroum to his memory.

—19—
A. D. 215
(*a. u.* 968) The pretext for his campaign against the Parthians was that Vologæsus had not acceded to his request for the extradition of Tiridates and a certain Antiochus with him. Antiochus was a Cilician and pretended at

[1] The famous Apollonius of Tyana.

first to be a philosopher of the cynic school. In this way he was of very great assistance to the soldiers in warfare. He strengthened them against the despair caused by the excessive cold, for he threw himself into the snow and rolled in it; and as a result he obtained money and honors from Severus himself and from Antoninus. Elated at this, he attached himself to Tiridates and in his company deserted to the Parthian prince. A. D. 215 (*a. u.* 968)

[Antoninus surely maligned himself in asserting that he had overcome by slyness the audacity, rapacity and faithlessness of the Celtæ, against which arms were of no avail. The same man commended Fabricius Luscinus because he had refused to let Pyrrhus be treacherously murdered by his friend.— He took pride in having put enmity between the Vandili and Marcomani, who were friends, and in having executed Gaiobomarus, the accused king of the Quadi. And since one of the latter's associates, under accusation at the same time with him, hanged himself before execution, Antoninus delivered his corpse to the barbarians to be wounded, that the man might be regarded as having been killed in pursuance of a sentence instead of dying voluntarily (which was deemed a creditable act among them). (—20—)

He killed Cæcilius Æmilianus, governor of Bætica, on suspicion that he had asked an oracular reply from Hercules at Gades.]

Before leaving Nicomedea the emperor held a gladiatorial contest there in honor of his birthday, for not (—19—)

A. D. 215 (a. u. 968) even on that day did he refrain from slaughter. Here it is said that a combatant, being defeated, begged for his life, whereupon Antoninus said: "Go and ask your adversary. I am not empowered to spare you." And A. D. 216 (a. u. 969) so the wretch, who would probably have been allowed by his antagonist to go, if the above words had not been spoken, lost his life. The victor did not dare release him for fear of appearing more humane than the emperor.

—20— For all that, while so engaged and steeped in the luxury of Antioch even to the point of keeping his chin wholly bare, he gave utterance to laments, as if he were in the midst of great toils and dangers. And he reproved the senate, saying for one thing that they were slothful, did not understand readily, and did not give their votes separately. Finally he wrote: "I know that my behavior doesn't please you. But the reason for my having arms and soldiers alike is to enable me to disregard anything that is said about me."

—21— When the Parthian monarch in fear surrendered both Tiridates and Antiochus, he disbanded the expedition at once. But he despatched Theocritus with an army into Armenian territory and suffered defeat amounting to a severe reverse at the hands of the inhabitants. Theocritus was of servile origin and had been brought up in the orchestra; [he was the man who had taught Antoninus dancing and had been a favorite of Saoterus, and through the influence thus acquired he had been introduced to the theatre at Rome. But, as he was disliked there, he

was driven out of Rome and went to Lugdunum, where he delighted the people, who were rather provincial. And, from a slave and dancer, he came to be an army leader and prefect.] He advanced to such power in the household of Antoninus that both the prefects were as nothing compared to him. Likewise Epagathus, himself also a Cæsarian, had equal influence with him and committed equal transgressions. Thus Theocritus, who kept traveling back and forth in the interest of securing provisions and selling them at retail, proved the death of many persons because of his authority and for other reasons. One victim was Titianus Flavius. The latter, while procurator in Alexandria, offended him in some way, whereupon Theocritus, leaping from his seat, drew his sword. At that Titianus remarked: "This, too, you have done like a dancer." Hence the other in a rage ordered him to be killed. A. D. 216 (*a. u.* 969)

—22—

Now Antoninus, in spite of his declaration that he cherished an overwhelming love for Alexander, all but destroyed utterly the whole population of Alexander's city. Hearing that he was spoken against and ridiculed by them for various reasons, and not least of all for murdering his brother, he set out for Alexandria, concealing his wrath and pretending to long to see them. But when he reached the suburbs whither the leading citizens had come with certain mystic and sacred symbols, he greeted them as if he intended to entertain them at a banquet and then put them to death. After this he arrayed his whole force in armor and marched into the city: he had sent previous notice to all the

A. D. 216 (*a. u.* 969) people there to remain at home and had occupied all the streets and in addition all the roofs in advance. And, to pass over the details of the calamities that then befell the wretched city, he slaughtered so many individuals that he dared not even speak about the number of them, but wrote the senate that it was of no interest how many of them or who had died, for they all deserved to suffer this fate. Of the property, part was plundered and part destroyed.

—23— With the people perished also many foreigners, and not a few who had accompanied Antoninus were destroyed for want of identification. As the city was large and persons were being murdered all over it by night and by day, it was impossible to distinguish anybody, no matter how much one might wish it. They simply expired as chance directed and their bodies were straightway cast into deep trenches to keep the rest from being aware of the extent of the disaster.— That was the fate of the natives. The foreigners were all driven out except the merchants, and even they had all their wares plundered. Also some shrines were despoiled. In the midst of most of these atrocities Antoninus was present and looked on and personally took a hand, but sometimes he issued orders to others from the temple of Serapis. He lived in this god's precinct even during the nights and days that witnessed the shedding of Egyptian blood. [And he sent word to the senate that he was observing purity during the days when he was in reality sacrificing there domestic beasts and human beings at the same time to the god.]

Yet why should I have spoken of this, when he actually dared to devote to the god the sword with which he had killed his brother? A. D. 216 (*a. u.* 969)

Next he abolished the spectacles and the public messes of the Alexandrians and ordered Alexandria to be broken up[1] into villages, with a wall fully garrisoned bisecting the city, that the inhabitants might no longer visit one another with security. Such was the treatment accorded unhappy Alexandria by the *Ausonian Beast,* as the tag of the oracle about him called him; and he said he liked the title and was glad to be distinguished by the honorific appellation of "Beast." Never mind how many persons he murdered on the pretext that they had fulfilled the oracle.

[The same man gave prizes to the soldiers for their campaign, allowing (?) those stationed in the pretorian guard to get some six thousand two hundred and fifty[2] and the rest five thousand . . . . . —24—

[That model of temperance (as he was wont to put it), the rebuker of licentiousness in others, at the consummation of a most vile and at the same time most dangerous outrage, appeared, in truth, to be indignant; but by not giving that indignation sufficient free play and further by allowing the youths to do what no one had ever yet dared to propose, he greatly corrupted the latter, who had imitated the habits of women of

1 The reading is *διοικισθῆναι.*

2 The common reading is "twelve hundred and fifty," but since it seems incredible that the Pretorians should have obtained less, instead of more, than the ordinary soldiers, Lange with much reason proposed the change carried out above,—a change which requires the insertion (or restitution) of but one Greek numeral-letter that might easily have been overlooked by some copyist.

A. D. 216 (*a. u.* 969) the demi-monde and of professional male buffoons.]

[On the occasion of the Culenian[1] spectacle severe censure was passed, not only upon those who there carried on their accustomed pursuits, but also upon the spectators.]

[1] Nobody knows what the Culenian games were; Valois guesses that they may have been an Alexandrian festival. The text of this whole chapter is in a very ragged condition, and should not be held too strictly accountable in the matter of sense or cohesion.

DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY
78

Antoninus's treacherous campaign against Artabanus, the Parthian (chapters 1–3).

Antoninus's death (chapters 4–6).

Foreshadowings of his death, and the abuse heaped upon him dead (chapters 7–10).

About Macrinus Augustus, and his excellencies and faults (chapters 11–15).

His letters and commands to the senate, and other official acts (chapters 16–22).

Death of Julia Augusta (chapters 23, 24).

Inauspicious signs: peace arranged with Artabanus after submitting to a defeat (chapters 25–27).

Uprising of the soldiers: Pseudantoninus is proclaimed as emperor by the soldiers (chapters 28–31).

How Macrinus, conquered in battle, took to flight and was cut down after the capture of his son (chapters 32–41).

DURATION OF TIME.

C. Attius Sabinus (II), Cornelius Annullinus (A. D. 216 = a. u. 969 = Sixth of Antoninus.)

C. Bruttius Præsens, T. Messius Extricatus (II). (A. D. 217 = a. u. 970 = Seventh of Antoninus, from Feb. 4th to April 8th.)

M. Opellius Macrinus Aug., Q. M. Coclatinus Adventus. (A. D. 218 = a. u. 971. The first year of Macrinus ends April 11th and his second year is abruptly terminated June 8th.)

—1—
A. D. 216
(*a. u.* 969)

The next thing was a campaign against the Parthians, and the pretext that was used was that Artabanus had refused to view favorably his wooing and give him his daughter in marriage. (But he knew well enough that, while pretending to want to marry her, he in fact was anxious to detach the Parthian kingdom.) So he damaged a large section of the country around Media by means of a sudden incursion, sacked many citadels, won over Arbela, dug open the royal tombs of the Parthians, and flung the bones about. The Parthians would not engage him at close quarters, and therefore I have had nothing of especial interest to record concerning the doings of that expedition except, perhaps, one anecdote. Two soldiers who had seized a skin of wine came to him, each claiming the booty as entirely his own. Being bidden by him to divide the wine equally they drew their swords and cut the wine skin in two, apparently expecting each to get a half with the wine in it. They so dreaded their emperor that they troubled him even with such details and showed such scrupulousness as to lose both wineskin and wine.

Now the barbarians took refuge in the mountains and across the Tigris in order to perfect their preparations. But Antoninus suppressed this fact and, assuming that he had utterly vanquished a foe whom he had not even seen, he displayed becoming pride; and, as he himself wrote, he was particularly gratified because a lion ran down from the mountains and fought on his side.

—2—
A. D. 216
(*a. u.* 969)

Not only in other ways did he live unnaturally and transgress laws, but in his very campaigns [. . . . . but truth;[1] for I have run across the book written by him about it. He understood so well how he stood with all the senators that, in spite of many protests, their slaves and freedmen and intimate friends were arrested by him and were asked under torture whether " so-and-so loves me " or " so-and-so hates me." For the charts of the stars under which any of his foremost courtiers had been born gave evidence, he said, as to who was friendly to him and who was hostile. And on this basis he honored many persons and destroyed many others.

—3—
A. D. 217
(*a. u.* 970)

When the Parthians and the Medes, greatly enraged at the treatment they had received, equipped a large body of troops, he fell into an ecstasy of terror. He was very bold in threats and very reckless in daring, but very cowardly in following a slow course involving danger, and very weak in hard labor. He could no longer bear either great heat or armor, and consequently wore sleeved tunics made in such a shape as more or less to resemble breastplates. Thus having the appearance of armor without its weight he could be safe from plots and also arouse admiration. He often used these garments when not in battle. He wore also a cavalry cloak, now all purple, now purple with white threads, and again of white with purple threads, and also red. In Syria and in Mesopotamia he used Celtic

[1] Here begins the parchment codex, Vaticanus 1288. See Volume I, page 8.

clothing and shoes.] He furthermore invented a costume of his own by cutting out cloth and stitching it up, barbaric fashion, into a kind of cloak. He himself wore it very constantly, so that it led to his being called Caracalla,[1] and he prescribed it by preference as the dress for the soldiers. The barbarians saw what sort of person he was and also heard that his men were enervated through their previous luxury; for, to give an instance of their behavior, the Romans passed the winter in houses, making use of everything belonging to their entertainers as if it were their own. [They further perceived that their opponents had become so physically worn and so dejected in spirit by their toils and by the hardships which they were now undergoing that they no longer heeded the presents which they kept receiving from their commander.] Elated, therefore, to think that they should find them rather helpers than foes, they made ready to attack.[2] A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

—4— Antoninus made preparations in his turn, but it did not fall to his lot to enter upon the war: he was struck down in the midst of his soldiers, whom he most honored and in whom he reposed vast confidence. A seer in Africa had declared (in such a way that it became noised abroad) that both Macrinus the prefect and his son Diadumenianus[3] must reign. Macrinus, sent to Rome, had revealed this to Flavius Maternianus, who at the time commanded the soldiers

1 A word of Celtic origin, signifying a long, ulster-like tunic plus a hood. This was a Gallic dress.
2 The last five words are a conjecture of Bekker's.
3 His full name was M. Opellius Diadumenianus.

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) in the city, and he had at once sent word to Antoninus. It happened that this letter was diverted to Antioch and came to [his mother] Julia, since she had been given orders to read over everything that arrived and thus prevent a mass of unimportant letters being sent to him while in a hostile country. Another letter written by Ulpius Julianus, who then had charge of appraisements, went by other carriers straight to Macrinus and informed him of the state of the case. It was in this way that the letter to the emperor suffered a delay and the despatch to his rival came to the attention of the latter in good season. Now Macrinus, becoming afraid that he might be put to death by Antoninus on account of all this, especially since a certain Egyptian Serapio had told the prince to his face that Macrinus should succeed him, did not find it well to delay.— Serapio had first been thrown to a lion for his pains, but when he merely held out his hand, as is reported, and the animal did not touch him, he was slain. He might have escaped even this fate (or so he declared) by calling upon certain spirits, if he had lived one day longer.

—5— Macrinus came to no harm but hastened his preparations, having a presentiment that otherwise he should perish, especially since Antoninus had suddenly, one day before[1] his birthday, removed those of Macrinus's companions that were in the latter's company, alleging one reason in one case and another in another with

[1] "One day before" is a conjecture of Bekker's. (The birthday of Antoninus seems to have been on the sixth of April.)

the general pretext of doing them honor. Not but A. D. 217 (a. u. 970)
. . . . . expecting that it was fated for him to get it he had also made a name which owed its origin to this fact. Accordingly, he suborned two tribunes stationed in the pretorian guard, Nemesianus and Apollinarius, brothers belonging to the Aurelian gens, and Julius Martialius, who was enrolled among the evocati and had a private grudge against Antoninus for not giving him the post of centurion on request. Thus he made his plot, and it was carried out as follows. On the eighth of April, when the emperor had set out from Edessa to Carrhæ and had dismounted from his horse to go and ease himself, Martialius approached as if he wanted to say something to him and struck him smartly with a small knife. The assassin at once fled and would have escaped detection, had he thrown away the sword. The weapon led to his being recognized by one of the Scythians on the staff of Antoninus, and he was brought down with a javelin. As for Martialius . . . the military tribunes pretending to come to the rescue slew . . . . .

[This Scythian attended him, not merely to be an ally of his, but as keeping guard over him to a certain extent. For he maintained Scythians and Celtæ about —6— him, free and slaves alike, whom he had taken away from children and wives and had equipped with arms; and he affected to place more dependence upon them than upon the soldiers. To illustrate, he kept honoring them with posts as centurions, and he called them "lions." Moreover, he would often converse with

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) emissaries sent from the very provinces, and in the presence of no one else but the interpreters would urge them, in case any catastrophe befell him, to invade Italy and march upon Rome, assuring them that it was very easy to capture. And to prevent any inkling of his talk spreading to our ears he would immediately put to death the interpreters. For all that, we did ascertain it later from the barbarians themselves: and the matter of the poisons we learned from Macrinus.] It seemed that he partly sent for and partly bought quantities of all kinds of poisons from the inhabitants of Upper Asia, spending altogether seven hundred and fifty myriads upon them, in order that he might secretly kill in different ways great numbers of men,—in fine, whomsoever he would. They were subsequently discovered in the royal apartments and were all consumed by fire. [At this time the soldiers, both for this reason and, beyond other considerations, because they were vexed at having the barbarians preferred to themselves, were not altogether so enthusiastic over their leader as of yore and did not aid him when he became the victim of a plot.] Such was the end that he met after a life of twenty-nine years [and four days (for he had been born on the fourth of April)], and after a reign of six years, two months, and two days.

—7— There are many things at this point, too, in the story that occur to excite my surprise. When he was about to start from Antioch on his last journey, his father confronted him in a vision, girt with a sword and saying: "As you killed your brother, so will I smite you

unto death;" and the soothsayers told him to beware of that day, using so direct a form of speech as this: "The gates of the victim's liver are shut." After this he went out through some door, paying no heed to the fact that the lion, which he was wont to call "Rapier," and had for a table companion and bedfellow, knocked him down as he went out, and, moreover, tore some of his clothing. He kept many other lions besides and always had some of them around him, but this one he would often caress even publicly. It was thus that these events occurred. A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

And a little before his death, as I have heard, a great fire suddenly fastened upon the entire interior of the temple of Serapis in Alexandria, and did no other harm whatever save only to destroy that sword with which he had slain his brother. [Later, when it stopped, many stars shone out.] In Rome, too, [a spirit wearing the likeness of a man led an ass up the Capitol and later up the Palatine, seeking, as he said, its master and stating that Antoninus was dead and Jupiter reigned. Arrested for his behavior, he was sent by Maternianus to Antoninus, and he declared: "I depart, as you bid, but I shall face not this emperor but another." Afterwards on coming to Capua he vanished. This took place while the prince was still alive.] At the horse-race [held in memory of Severus's reign] the statue of Mars, while being carried in procession, fell down. This perhaps would not arouse such great wonder, but listen to the greatest marvel of all. The Green faction had been defeated, —8—

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) whereupon, catching sight of a jackdaw, which was screeching very loud on the tip of a javelin, they all gazed at him and all of a sudden, as if by previous arrangement, cried out: "Hail Martialius, Martialius hail, long it is since we beheld thee!" It was not that the jackdaw was ever so called, but through him they were greeting, apparently under some divine inspiration, Martialius, the assassin of Antoninus. To some, indeed, Antoninus seemed to have foretold his own end, inasmuch as in the last letter that he sent to the senate he had said: "Cease praying that I may reign a hundred years." The petition mentioned had always been uttered from the beginning of his sovereignty and this was the first and only time that he found fault with it. Thus, while his words were simply meant to chide them for offering a prayer impossible of accomplishment, he was really indicating that he should no longer rule for any length of time. And when certain persons had once called attention to this fact, it also came to my my mind that when he was giving us a banquet in Nicomedea at the Saturnalia and had talked a good deal, as was usual at a symposium, then on our rising to go he had addressed me and said: "With great acumen and truth, Dio, has Euripides remarked that

> "'Neath divers forms the spirit world is lurking,
> Much passing hope the gods are ever working.
> Oft disappointment strikes down sure ambition:
> The unthought chance God brings to full fruition.
> This story leaves things in just that condition.'"[1]

At the time this quotation seemed to have been mere

[1] Lines that occur at the end of several of Euripides's dramas.

nonsense, but when not long after he perished the fact that this was the last speech he uttered to me was thought to infuse into it a certain truly oracular significance with regard to what was to befall him. Similar importance was attached to the utterance of Jupiter called Belus,[1] a god revered in Apamea[2] of Syria. He, years before, when Severus was still a private citizen, had spoken to him these verses: A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

> "Touching eyes and head, like Zeus, whose delight is in thunder,
> Like unto Ares in waist, and in chest resembling Poseidon." [3]

And later, after his accession as emperor, the god had made this response to an enquiry: "Thy house shall perish utterly in blood.'"[4]

[Acordingly the body of Antoninus was then burned, and his bones, brought secretly by night into Rome, were deposited in the mausoleum of the Antonines. All the senators and private individuals, men and women, without exception entertained so violent a hatred of him that all their words and actions relating to him were such as would befit the downfall of a most implacable foe. He was not officially disgraced, because the soldiers did not get from Macrinus the state of peace which they had hoped to secure by a change. Deprived of the profits which they were wont to receive from Antoninus, they began to long for him again. Indeed, their wishes subsequently prevailed to the extent of having him enrolled among the heroes: of course this —9—

1 The same as Baal.
2 This is the Apamea on the Orontes, built by Seleucus Nicator.
3 From Homer's Iliad, II, verses 478-9.
4 Adapted from Euripides, Phœnician Maidens, verse 20.

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) was voted by the senate.] In general, abundant ill was consistently spoken of him by everybody. They would no longer term him Antoninus, but [some called him Bassianus,[1] his old name, others] Caracalla, as I have mentioned,[2] [others] also Tarautas, from the appellation of a gladiator who was [in apearance] very small and very ugly and [in sprit very audacious and] very bloodthirsty.

—10— Now his affairs, however one may name him, were in this state. As for me, even before he came to the throne, it was foretold me in a way by his father that I should write this account. Just after his death methought I saw in a great plain the whole power of Rome arayed in arms, and it seemed as if Severus were sitting [on a knoll there and] on a lofty tribunal conversing with them. And, seeing me standing by to hear what was said, he spoke out: "Come hither, Dio, to this spot; approach nearer, that you may both ascertain accurately and write a history of all that is said and done."—Such was the life and the overthrow of Tarautas. [After him there perished also those who had shared in the plot against him, some at once and others before a great while. His intimate companions and the Cæsarians likewise perished. He had been, as it were, coupled with a spirit of murder that operated equally against enemies and against friends.]

—11— Macrinus, by race a Moor from Cæsarea, came from most obscure parents [so that with considerable justice

[1] He was originally Septimius Bassianus, named after his maternal grandfather.

[2] In chapter 3.

he was likened to the ass that was led to the Palatine by the apparition]. For one thing his left ear had been bored, according to the custom [generally] in vogue among the Moors. His affability was even more striking. As to duties, his comprehension of them was not so accurate as his performance of them was faithful. [Thus it was, thanks to the advocacy of a friend's cause, that he became known to Plautianus, and at first he took the position of manager of the latter's property; subsequently he ran a risk of perishing together with his employer, but was unexpectedly saved by the intercession of Cilo and was given charge of the vehicles of Severus that passed back and forth along the Flaminian Way.] From Antoninus [after securing some titles of a short-lived procuratorship] he obtained an appointment as prefect and administered the affairs of this responsible position excellently and with entire justice, [so far as he was free to act independently. This, then, was his general character and these the steps of his advancement. Even during the life of Tarautas he was led, in the way that I have described, to harbor in his mind the hope of empire;] and at his death [he did not, to be sure, either that day or the two following days occupy the office, in order to avoid the imputation of having killed him with such intentions: but for that space of time the Roman state remained completely bereft of a ruler possessing authority, though without the people's knowing it. He communicated with the soldiers in every direction,— that is to say, the ones

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) who were in Mesopotamia on account of the war but instead of being in one body were scattered all about; and he won their allegiance through the agency of his[1] friends], among his various offers being a suggestion that they might secure a respite from the war, which was an especial cause of dissatisfaction to them: and so on the fourth day [the anniversary of Severus's birthday] he was chosen emperor by them [after making a
—12— show of resistance]. [He delivered an address full of good points and held out hopes of many advantages to the rest of mankind as well. Those who had been doomed to some life punishment for an act of impiety, of the kind that is so named with reference to attitude toward emperors, were absolved from their sentence; and complaints of that nature which were pending were dismissed. He rescinded the measures enacted by Caracalla relating to inheritances and emancipations and, by asseverating that it was a sacrilege to kill a senator, he succeeded in his appeal for the pardon of Aurelianus, whose surrender was demanded by the soldiers because he had proved most obnoxious to them in many previous campaigns. Not for long, however, was it in his power to behave as an honest man . . . and Aurelianus . . . . . soldiers . . this man . . . by him . . . absolute power . . . wrath . . . . and two hundred and fifty denarii . . . there had been public notice of giving more . . . fearing that . . . . Aurelianus, the

[1] Reading *οἱ* (Dindorf) instead of *ὡς*.

only one then present not only of ex-consuls but of those who were senators at all . . . by aid of money . . upon him . . . . glad to divert the blame for Caracalla's death . . . and about the . . . . them . . . . the . . . . the . . . . great masses both of furniture and of property of the emperors. But as not even this on account of the soldiers sufficed for the . . . . . of senators . . . kill . . . no one, but putting some under guard . . . . . of the knights and the freedmen and the Cæsarians and . . . . . causing those who erred in even the slightest respect to be punished, so that to all . . . . of them . . . the procuratorships and the excessive expenditures and the majority of the burdens recently laid upon them by Tarautas . . of the games . . . multitude . . . . , gathering the presents which had unnecessarily been bestowed upon any persons, and he forbade any silver image of him being made over five pounds in weight, or any golden image of over three. Greatest of all, the hire of those serving in the pretorian guard . . . to that appointed . . . . by Severus . . . . . A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

—13— Though in truth he was praised by some for this (and not without reason), still he incurred (on the part of the sensible) a censure that quite counterbalanced it. The adverse sentiment in question was due to the fact that he enrolled certain persons in the ranks of ex-consuls and immediately assigned them to governorships of provinces. Yet he refused the following year to have the reputation of being consul twice because

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) he had the honors of ex-consul: this was a practice begun during the reign of Severus and followed also by the latter's son. This procedure, however, both in his own case and in that of Adventus was lawful enough, but he showed great folly in sending Marcius Agrippa first into Pannonia and later into Dacia to govern. The previous officials of the districts mentioned,— Sabinus and Castinus,— he summoned at once to his side, pretending that he wanted their company, but really because he feared their surpassing spirit and their friendship for Caracalla. It was in this way that he came to despatch Agrippa to Dacia and Deccius Triccianus[1] to Pannonia. The former had been a slave acting as master of wardrobe for some woman and for this cause[2] had been tried by Severus, although at the time he was attached to the fiscus; he had then been driven out to an island for betraying some interest, was subsequently restored, together with the rest, by Tarautas, had taken charge of his decisions and letters, and finally had been degraded to the position of senator, with ex-consular rank, because he had admitted overgrown lads into the army. Triccianus served in the rank and file of the Pannonian contingent, had once been porter to the governor of that country, and was at this time commanding the Alban legion.

—14— These were some of the grounds that led many persons to find fault with him. Another was his elevation of Adventus. Adventus had drawn pay as one of the

1 *Ælius Deccius Triccianus.*

2 It is hard to see why, unless in the age of Severus slaves were forbidden to have charge of women's attire.

spies and detectives, had left his position there and served among the letter-carriers, had later been appointed cubicularius, and still later was advanced to a position as procurator. Now although old age prevented him from seeing, lack of education from reading, and want of experience from being able to accomplish anything, the emperor made him senator, fellow-consul, and prefect of the city. This upstart had dared to say to the soldiers after the death of Caracalla: "The sovereignty properly belongs to me, since I am elder than Macrinus: but inasmuch as I am extremely old, I make way for him." His behavior was regarded as nonsensical, as was also that of Macrinus, in granting the greatest dignity of the senate to such a man, who could not when consul carry on a plain conversation with anybody in the senate, and consequently on the day of elections pretended to be sick. Hence, before long Macrinus assigned the direction of the city to Marius Maximus in his stead. It looked as if he had made him præfectus urbi with the sole purpose of polluting the senate-house. And this pollution took place not only in virtue of the fact that he had served in the mercenary force and had performed the duties belonging to executioners, scouts, and centurions, but in that he had secured control of the city prior to fulfilling the demands of the consulship. In other words, he became city prefect before senator. Macrinus connived at his promotion with the definite intention of blinding the public in regard to his own record, which would

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

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—15— Besides these not unmerited censures that some passed upon him, he also attracted adverse criticism for designating as prefects Ulpius Julianus and Julianus Nestor, who possessed no particular excellence and had not been tested in many undertakings, but had become quite notorious for rascality in Caracalla's reign; for, being at the head of the late prince's messengers[1] they had been of great assistance to him in his unholy meddling. However, only a few citizens took account of these details, which did not tend wholly to encourage them. The majority of individuals, in view of their having recently got rid of Tarautas, which was more than they could have hoped, and comparing the new ruler in the few indications afforded with the old, and in view of all the other considerations and expectations, did not deem it fitting to condemn him so soon. And for this reason they mourned him exceedingly when he was killed, though they would certainly have felt hatred for him had he lived longer.] For he began to live rather more luxuriously and he took official notice of those who reproved him. His putting Maternianus and Datus out of the way was not reasonable,— for what wrong had they done in being attentive to their emperor?— but it was not unlike human nature, since he had been involved in great danger. But he made a mistake in venting his wrath upon the

[1] Mommsen thinks that by this expression Dio probably means the position of *princeps peregrinorum*.

rest, who were suspected of disliking his low birth and his unexpected attempt upon the sovereign power. He ought to have done precisely the opposite; realizing what he had been at the outset and what his position then was, he should not have been supercilious, but should have behaved moderately, cultivated the genius of his household, and encouraged men by good deeds and a display of excellence unchanged by circumstances. A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

These things . . . . in regard to him . . . have been said by me . . . . in detail . . . of any . . . just as . . . nominally throughout his entire reign . . . of all . . . of it . . . that he said in conversation with the soldiers . . . . it was proved . . . . . and he dared to utter not a few laudations of himself and to send still more of them in letters, saying among other things: "I have been quite sure that you also would agree with the legions, since I enjoy the consciousness of having conferred many benefits upon the commonwealth." He subscribed himself in the letter as Cæsar and emperor and Severus, adding to the name of Macrinus the titles of Pious, and Fortunate, and Augustus, and Proconsul, of course without awaiting any vote on our part. He sent the letter without being ignorant that he was, on his own responsibility, assuming so many and great designations nor . . . . name . . . of Pretorians as formerly some . . . . not but what . . . so wrote . . . in the beginning . . . war chiefly . . . of barbarians . . . . . near . . . . . in the letter —16—

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A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) he used simply the same terms as the emperors before Caracalla, and this he did the whole year through . . . memoranda found among the soldiers. Thus . . . of things accustomed to be said with a view to flattery and not inspired by truthfulness they became so suspicious as to ask that they be made public, and he sent them to us, and the quæstor read them aloud, as he did other similar documents in their turn. And a certain prætor, as the senate was then in session and none of the quæstors was present, also read an epistle once composed by Macrinus himself.

— 17 — The first letter having been read, appropriate measures were passed with reference to both Macrinus and his son. He was designated Patrician, and Princeps Iuventutis, and Cæsar. He accepted everything save the horse-race voted in honor of the beginning of his reign; from this he begged to be excused, saying that the event had been sufficiently honored by the spectacle on the birthday of Severus.

Of Tarautas he made no mention at this time, in the way of either honor or dishonor, save only that he called him Emperor. He ventured to term him neither Hero nor Foe, and, as I conjecture, it was because the deeds of his predecessor and the hatred of much of mankind made him shrink from the former epithet, and the thought of the soldiers restrained him from the latter. Some suspected that it was because he wanted the disgracing to be the act of the senate and the people rather than his own, especially since he was in the midst of the legions. He did say that Tarautas by

his wrongdoing had been chiefly responsible for the war and had terribly burdened the public treasury by increasing the money given to the barbarians, inasmuch as it was of equal amount with the pay of the soldiers under arms. No one dared, however, to give utterance publicly to any such statement against him and vote that he was an enemy, for fear of immediate annihilation at the hands of the soldiers in the City. Still, they abused him in their own fashion and heaped insults upon him as much as they could, going over the list of his bloody deeds, with the name of each victim, and ranging him alongside all the evil tyrants that had ever held sway over them. At the same time the public demanded that the horse-race given on his birthday be abolished, that absolutely all the statues, both gold and silver, erected[1] in his honor be melted down, and that those who had served with him in any capacity as informers be made known and punished with the utmost speed. For great numbers, not only slaves and freedmen and soldiers and Cæsarians, but likewise knights and senators and numerous very distinguished women, were believed to have given secret hints during his reign and to have blackmailed various persons. And although they did not attach to Antoninus the name of Enemy, they did keep vociferating that Martialius (on account of the similarity of his name to that of Mars, as they pretended,) ought to be honored with enconiums and with statues for worship. They also showed for the moment no indication of annoyance at Macrinus], the reason being that they were so overwhelmed by joy on account of

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

—18—

[1] Supplying, with Reiske, *ἱδρυθέντας*.

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) the death of Tarautas as not to have leisure to think anything about his humble origin, and they were glad to accept him as emperor. They were less concerned about whose slaves they should be next than about whose yoke they had shaken off, and were impressed with the idea that any chance comer who might present himself would be preferable to their former master. [All the unusual expenditures were rehearsed that had been made, not only by the Roman Treasury but privately for any persons and on the part of any foreign nations as a result of the former sovereign's direction: and thus the overthrow of those charged with carrying out the enactments made by him and the hope that in the future nothing similar would be done inclined people to be satisfied with the existing arrangement.

—19— However, they soon learned that Aurelianus was dead and that Diadumenianus, son of Macrinus, had been appointed Cæsar. This last was nominally the act of the soldiers, through whose ranks he passed when summoned from Antioch to meet his father, but really it was accomplished by Macrinus. People further learned that their ruler had assumed the name of Antoninus. (He had done this to win the favor of the soldiers, partly to avoid seeming to dishonor his predecessor's memory entirely, especially in view of the fact that he had secretly thrown down some of the statues offered to him in Rome by Alexander and set on pedestals by Antoninus himself: and again he wanted to get an excuse for promising them seven hundred and fifty denarii more.) So persons began to think differently and reflected that previously they had

held him in no esteem. Taking account, furthermore, A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) of all the additional ignoble manifestations on his part that they suspected and thought likely, they began to be ashamed and did not . . Caracalla any more than . . things pertaining to him differently . . . . . by deprecating the . . . of Severus . . . of Antoninus . . . they displayed . . . and hero and what befitted his reign, not to be sure . . . . . and wholly the judgments of all men in Rome . . underwent a change . . . senate . . . . . to him . . . me . . however, when all were questioned man by man regarding his honors, both others answered ambiguously and . . . Saturninus . . . . in a way attributing . . . prætors . . . that it was not permissible for him to put any vote about anything, in order that they might avoid the consul's jealousy. This procedure was contrary to precedent, for it was not lawful that there should take place in the senate-chamber an inquiry into any matter, except at the command of the emperor. The crowd, because they could —20— obscure their identity at the contest and by their numbers, gained the greater boldness, raised a loud cry at the horse-race on the birthday of Diadumenianus, which fell on the fourteenth of September: they uttered many lamentations, asserting that they alone of all mankind were destitute of a leader, destitute of a king; and they invoked the name of Jupiter, declaring that he alone should be their leader and uttering aloud these words: "As a master thou wert angry, as a father take pity on us." Nor would they pay any heed at first to either

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A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) the equestrian or the senatorial order . . . . . and commending the emperor and the Cæsar to the extent of . . . in Greek saying: "Ah, what a glorious day is to-day! What noble kings!" and desiring that the others also should share their opinion. But they stretched out their arms toward the sky and exclaimed: ". . . . this is the Roman Augustus: having him we have all!" So true it is that among mankind respect is a distinct characteristic of the better element and contempt a characteristic of the worse. For these two now regarded Macrinus and Diadumenianus as henceforth absolutely non-existent and trampled upon their claims as though they were already dead. This was one great reason why his soldiers despised him, and paid no heed to what was done to win their favor. Another still more important cause lay in the frequent and extraordinary insolence shown toward him by the Pergamenians, who were deprived of what they had formerly received from Tarautas; and for this conduct he imposed upon them public sentence of loss of citizenship.

—21— The attitude of the soldiers is straightway to be described. At this time Macrinus neither sent to the senate, as they were demanding, nor published otherwise any document of the informers, saying either truly or falsely (to avoid a great disturbance) that none such had been found in the royal residence. For Tarautas had either destroyed the majority of those containing any accusation or had returned them to the

senders themselves, as I have stated,[1] to the end that no proof of his baseness should be left. But he did reveal the names of three senators whom, from what he had himself discovered, he deemed to be especially deserving of hatred. These were Manilius and Julius, and moreover Sulpicius Arrhenianus, who had blackmailed, among others, Bassus, the son of Pomponius, whose lieutenant he had been when Bassus was governor of Mœsia. These men were banished to islands, as the emperor expressly forbade their being put to death. "We would avoid,"—he wrote—these were his very words,—"ourselves appearing to do the things for which we censure them."—And Lucius Priscillianus [whose name was presented by the senate itself,] was as much renowned for his insulting behavior as he was for his killing of wild beasts. [He fought them at Tusculum every now and then, and contended with so many each time that he bore the scars of their bites.] Once he, unassisted, joined battle with a bear and panther, a lioness and lion at once, but far more numerous were the men, both knights and senators, whom he destroyed as a result of his slanders. [For both of these achievements] he was greatly honored by Caracalla [was enrolled among the ex-prætors and became (contrary to precedent) governor of Achæa. He incurred the violent hatred of the senate, was summoned for trial] and was confined upon an island. [These men, then, came to their end as described.

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

[1] The passage to which Dio refers is lost.

—22—
A. D. 217
(*a. u.* 970)

And Flaccus was entrusted also with the dispensation of food stuffs,—an office which Manilius had formerly held,—for he had secured[1] it (with the added ratification of Macrinus) as a reward of his information against him; and he was subsequently made superintendent of the distribution of dole which took place at the games given by the major prætors, save those celebrated in honor of Flora . . . . . moreover the iuridici possessing authority in Italy had to stop rendering decisions outside the traditional limits set by Marcus.[2]—A certain Domitius Florus had formerly

[1] Reading ἐλληφώς (Reimar).

[2] The text of the early part of this chapter may be characterized as "jagged." The sentences lack clearness and the relation of the individual words is not always certain. The reader may be interested to see a translation of Hirschfeld's interpretation of the section, taken from his book entitled *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der Roemischen Verwaltungsgeschichte* (pp. 117–120).

[a] [Flaccus] — It is here a question of a high senatorial office, which can only be the *præfectura alimentorum*.

[b] [The iuridici] — Perhaps the person entrusted with the execution of this ruling was C. Octavius Sabinus, who had the title of *electus ad corrigendum statum Italiæ*.

[c] [The orphans] — Probably during the latter portion of Caracalla's reign, as also under Commodus, the funds for food had been available either not at all or at irregular intervals, and therefore the restitution of district prefects was determined upon.

From these Food Prefects for a particular district those officials must be distinguished who bear the general title of *præfectus alimentorum* without any local limitation, and show a marked difference from the rest in that they are invariably of consular rank, whereas the position of district prefect, like that of curator of roads, was usually held by a candidate that had only passed the prætorship. The inscriptions of these *consular* prefects begin not earlier than the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, perhaps not till Commodus, and extend to the time of Macrinus, while during this whole time (a period, that is, of about forty years) all trace of the district prefects vanishes. Under these circumstances the conclusion seems to me inevitable that towards the end of the second century (probably from the first years of Marcus Aurelius on) the district prefecture was abolished and the administration was centralized in Rome under a consular *præfectus alimentorum*, whose authority extended over the whole of Italy.

Now very probably it was the introduction under Marcus Aurelius of the *iuridici* which occasioned this change, even if not immediately, and that these duties of distribution, as well as other administrative

had charge of the senate records and ought to have been next appointed ædile, but before entering upon office had been deprived of all hope on account of Plautianus; he now had recourse to sedulous office-seeking, recovered his lost standing[2] and was appointed tribune. Anicius Faustus was sent into Asia to govern in place of Asper. The latter had at first obtained very great honor from Macrinus, who thought he could settle affairs in Asia: afterwards, when he was already *en route* and was approaching the province (Macrinus had not accorded a favorable reception to the petition forwarded to Caracalla and delivered to him, in which the inhabitants begged that Asper be not sent them as proconsul), the emperor offered him a terrible affront in rejecting him. It was reported to the prince that Asper had made some improper remarks, and moreover he affected to think that old age and disease constituted a second reason for relieving him of his duties, and therefore he delivered Asia into the keeping of Faustus, a man who had been overlooked in the order of allotment by Severus. As the time for him to govern turned out to be short, Macrinus bade him hold

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

functions, were placed in their hands; one thing that would seem to recommend this view particularly is that their position in general tended to make them official examiners of the affairs of the *municipia*. When, in addition, we have evidence that Macrinus in the year 217 reduced the authority of the *iuridici* to the limits originally imposed by Marcus Aurelius and that further the same emporer instituted certain rulings for the amelioration of food distribution; when, moreover, we consider in connection with this the coincidence of the disappearance of the *consular food prefects* for Italy on the one hand and the reappearance of the *pretorial district prefects* on the other, it will not appear overbold to suppose that Macrinus, in the course of the reform affecting the *iuridici*, also detached from them the right to supervise foods, restored it to the curators of roads (as in the original arrangement) and abolished the central bureau in Rome.

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) the office for the following year in place of Aufidius Fronto. To the latter he would entrust neither Africa (which he had drawn by lot), because the Africans begged that he be not allowed to come, nor yet Asia, though he had first transferred him thither. As a fitting recognition, however, Macrinus proposed that twenty-five myriads be given him to stay at home. Fronto, however, would not accept that, saying that he wanted not money but a position of authority, and accordingly later he received the province from Sardanapalus.

Besides these events aid was extended to the orphans, whose hopes of support were small, from the . . age of childhood to military years.[1]

— 23 — Now Julia, the mother of Tarautas, chanced to be in Antioch, and at the first information of her son's death she was so affected that she struck herself violently and undertook to starve herself to death. The presence of this very same man, whom she hated alive, became the object of her longings now that he had ceased to exist; yet not because she desired him to live, but because she was furious at having to return to private life; and this led her to abuse Macrinus also long and bitterly. Subsequently, as no change was made in her royal suite or in the guard of Pretorians attending her, and the new emperor sent her a kind message (not having yet heard what she had said), she took courage, laid aside her longing for death, and, without writing him any response, held some negotiations with the soldiers she had about her, especially

[1] See note 2c, page 58.

. . . . and as they were angry with Macrinus A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)
. . . . as they had a pleasanter remembrance of her son, how she might attain the imperial position, rendering herself the peer of Semiramis and Nitocris, since she came in a way from the same regions as they;[1] as . . . coöperated . . . and letters . . . of Macrinus . . . some for which . . . . . judgment . . . . fearing that she might be deprived of the title of Augusta and to . . . native country be forced to return . . . . . to fear . . go to Rome . . . . . Macrinus . . . . . seeming to do the opposite . . . how . . . might depart and he ordered her to depart from Antioch with all speed and go whithersoever she would. [And when she heard what was said in Rome about her son] she no longer cared to live. The cancer in her breast, which for a very long time had remained stationary in its progress, had been made angry and inflamed by the blow which she struck her chest on hearing of her son's death; this helped to undermine her constitution and she made sure of her demise by voluntary starvation.

[And so this queen, sprung from a family of common —24—

1 Boissevain's conjecture for the succeeding sentences (valuable, of course, only as the guess of an expert) is the following:

But when nobody would coöperate with her and letters came from Macrinus making certain announcements at which, in view of her circumstances, she felt herself depressed in spirits, she renounced her ambitions out of fear that she might be deprived of the title of Augusta and be forced to depart to her native land, and al . . . . drea . . . . . wom . . . . ad . . . . . eake . . . . and mos . . . . any one behol . . . . . she decided to do just the reverse and submit lest she be forced eventually to return to Rome and be there compelled by Macrinus to remain at home for the future for appearing to be opposed to his policy. Afterwards, however, she was intending to take measures that would enable her to get away by ship, if possibility still offered, when he ordered her, etc.

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) people and raised to a high station, who had lived during her husband's reign in great unhappiness on account of Plautianus, who had beheld her younger son butchered in her own lap and had borne ill-will to her elder son while he lived, finally receiving such tidings of his assassination, withdrew from power while in the full flush of life and thereafter did herself to death. Hence a person reviewing her career could not deem infallibly happy all those who attain great authority; indeed, in no case unless some true and undefiled pleasure in life belongs to them, and unswerving, permanent good fortune.— This, then, was the fate of Julia. Her body was taken to Rome and placed in the tomb of Gaius and Lucius. Later, however, both her bones and those of Geta were transferred by her sister Mæsa to the precinct of Antoninus.

—25— Nor was Macrinus destined to survive for long,— a fact of which he doubtless had previous indications. A mule bore a mule in Rome and a sow had a little pig with four ears and two tongues and eight feet. A great earthquake occurred, blood flowed from a pipe, and bees formed honeycombs in the Forum Boarium. The hunting-theatre was smitten with thunderbolts on the very day of the Vulcanalia[1] and such a blaze ensued that all its upper circumference and the whole circuit of construction and the ground-level were burned and thereupon the rest of it caught fire and fell in ruins. No human aid availed against the conflagration, though every possible stream of water was directed upon the

[1] August twenty-third.

blaze, nor could the downpour from the sky, which came in great amount and violence, accomplish anything. The force of both kinds of water was exhausted by the power of the thunderbolts, and to a certain extent, at least, the building only received additional injury;[1] wherefore the gladiatorial spectacle was held in the stadium for many years. A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970)

This naturally seemed to foreshow what was to be. There were other fires besides and imperial possessions were burned especially often during his reign,— a thing which in itself has always been regarded as of ill omen; but the fact that it seemed to have overthrown the horse-race of Vulcan had a direct bearing upon the emperor. This accordingly gave rise to a feeling that something out of the ordinary was in process of consummation, and the idea was strengthened by the behavior on that same day of the Tiber, which rose until it invaded the Forum and the roads leading to it with such impetus as to sweep away even human beings. And a woman, as I have heard, grim and gigantic, was seen by some persons and declared that these disasters were insignificant as compared with what was destined to befall them. And so it proved, —26— for the evil did not confine itself to the City alone, but took possession of the whole world under its dominion, with whose inhabitants the theatre was customarily filled. The Romans, defeated, gave up their war against the barbarians and likewise received great detriment from the greed and factional differences of

1 Reading *προσεσίνετο* (Bekker).

A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) the soldiers. The progress of both these evils I am now to describe.]

Macrinus, seeing that Artabanus was exceedingly angry at the way he had been treated and had invaded Mesopotamia with a large force, at first of his own accord sent him the captives and used friendly language, urging him to accept peace and laying the blame for the past upon Tarautas. But the other would not entertain his proposition and furthermore bade him build up the forts and demolished cities, abandon Mesopotamia entirely and offer satisfaction in general, but particularly for the damage to the royal tombs. [For, trusting in the large force that he had gathered and despising Macrinus as an unworthy emperor, he gave reign to his wrath and expected that even without the Roman's consent he could accomplish whatever he wished.] Macrinus had no opportunity to think it over, but, meeting the enemy already on the way to Nisibis, was defeated in a battle begun by the soldiers about water, while encamped opposite each other. And he came very near losing the rampart itself, but some armor-bearers and baggage-carriers happened along and saved it. In their confidence, they had started out ahead and made a rush upon the barbarians; and the unexpectedness of their sally was of advantage to them, making them appear to be armed soldiers and not mere helpers. But the . . . both was not present then and . . . . . the night . . . the camps . . and the Romans followed on. The enemy, perceiving the noise that they made in going out, suspected . . . . . flight, but seeing

them at a glance . . . . . the Romans A. D. 217 (*a. u.* 970) . . . barbarians . . . . . forced by their . . . and the flight of Macrinus, they became dejected and were conquered. And as a result . . . from Mesopotamia especially . . . they overran Syria . . he abandoned. This took place at the season under consideration: but in the autumn A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971) and winter, during which Macrinus and Adventus became consuls, they no longer came to blows with each other but kept up an interchange of envoys and heralds until they had reached an agreement. For Macrinus, —27— through native cowardice (being a Moor he was tremendously timorous) and by reason of the soldiers' lack of discipline, did not dare to begin a war. On the contrary] he expended for the sake of peace enormous amounts, in the shape of both gifts and money, to Artabanus himself and to his assistants in the government, so that the entire outlay came to five thousand myriads. [And the emperor was not unwilling to effect a reconciliation, both for the reasons mentioned and because his soldiers were extremely restive,— a condition due to their having been away from home an unusual length of time, as well as to the scarcity of food. No supplies were to be had from stores, since there were no stores ready, nor from the country itself, because part had been devastated and part was controlled by forts. Macrinus, however, did not forward an exact account of all their proceedings to the senate and consequently triumphal sacrifices were voted him and the name of Parthicus was bestowed.

A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971) But this he would not accept, being apparently ashamed to adopt the appellation of an enemy by whom he had been defeated.

Moreover, the war that had been waged in the regions of the Armenian king subsided. Tiridates received the diadem sent him by Macrinus, and got back his mother (whom Tarautas had confined in prison eleven months), together with the booty captured from Armenia and all the territory that his father possessed in Cappadocia, with hopes of obtaining the annual payment often furnished by the Romans. And the Dacians, after damaging parts of Dacia, held their hands in spite of a desire for further conflict, and got back the hostages that Caracalla, under the name of an alliance, had taken from them. This was the course of these events.

—28— But a new war broke upon the heads of the Romans, and no longer a foreign but a civil strife. It was the soldiers who were responsible for the outbreak. [They were somewhat irritated by their setbacks, but their behavior was owing still more to the fact that they would no longer endure any hard work if they could help it, but were thoroughly out of training in every respect and wanted to have no emperor that ruled with a firm hand but demanded that they get everything without stint, and chose to perform no task that was fitting for them. They were further angered by the cutting off of their pay and the deprivation of prizes and exemptions (these last among the privileges of the military), which they had gained from Tarautas,

even though they personally were not destined to be affected by these measures. Their resolution was definitely strengthened by the delay which they had undergone in practically one and the same spot while wintering in Syria on account of the war. It should be stated that Macrinus seemed to have shown good generalship and to have acted sensibly in debarring the men in arms from no privilege, but preserving to them intact all the rights allowed by his predecessor, whereas he gave notice to such as intended to enlist anew that they would be enrolled only upon the old schedule published by Severus. He hoped that these recruits, entering the army a few at a time, would hold aloof from rebellion, at first through peaceful inclinations and fear and later through the influence of time and custom, and that by having no corrupting effect upon the rest they would quiet them. If this had been done after the members of the army had retired to their individual fortresses and were consequently scattered, it would have been a correct move. Perhaps some of them would not have shown indignation, believing that they would really be put at no disadvantage because temporarily they suffered no loss: and even if they had been vexed, yet, each body being few in number and subservient to the commanders sent by the senate, they could have accomplished no great harm. But, united in Syria, they suspected that they should be liable to innovations if they separated;—for the time being they could well believe they were being pampered on account of the demands of war.

A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971)

—29—

A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971) And again . . . . . So the others killed certain soldiers and ravaged portions of Mesopotamia, and these men butchered not a few of their own number and also overthrew their emperor; and, what is still worse, they set up another similar ruler, by whom nothing was done save what was evil and base.

—30— It seems to me that this occurrence had been foreshadowed more clearly, perhaps, than any previous event. A very distinct eclipse of the sun [had taken place] about that time, [and the comet-star was seen for a considerable period. And another] luminary, whose tail extended from the west to the east, for several nights caused us terrible alarm, so that this verse of Homer's was ever on our lips:

"Rang the vast welkin with clarion calls, and Zeus heard the tumult."[1]

It was brought about in the following way:

Mæsa, the sister of Julia Augusta, had two daughters, Soæmias and Mammæa, by her husband Julius, an ex-consul. She had also two male grandchildren. One was Avitus, the child of Soæmias and Varius Marcellus, a man of the same race,— he was from Apamea,— who had been occupied in procuratorships, had been enrolled in the senate, and soon after died. The other was Bassianus, the child of Mammæa and Gessius Marcianus, who was himself also a Syrian, from a city called Arca, and had been assigned to various positions as procurator. Now Mæsa at home in Emesa her life . . . her sister Julia, with whom she had made her

[1] From Homer's Iliad, XXI, verse 388.

abode during the entire period of the latter's reign, having perished. For Avitus, after governing in Asia, sent by Caracalla from Mesopotamia into Cyprus, was seen to be limited to the position of adviser to some magistrate who suffered from old age and sickness; and again . . . him, when . . . he died, one Eutychianus, that had given satisfaction in games and exercises, and for that reason . . . who . . . . A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971)

—31—

. . . . . upon . . . . . becoming aware of the strong dislike of the soldiers for Macrinus . .

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wall . . . . . and partly persuaded by the Sun, whom they name Elagabalus and worship devotedly, and by some other prophecies, he undertook to overthrow Macrinus and put up Avitus, the grandson of Mæsa and a mere child, as emperor in his stead. And he accomplished both projects, although he had himself as yet not fully reached manhood and had as helpers only a few freedmen and soldiers . . . . and Emesenian senators . . . . pretending that he was a natural son of Tarautas and arraying him in clothing which the latter had worn when a child, Cæsar by the . . .

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introduced into the camp at night, without the knowledge of his mother or his grandmother, and at dawn on the sixteenth of May he persuaded the soldiers, who were eager to get some starting-point for an uprising, to revolt. Julianus, the prefect, learning this (for he

A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971) (—34—) happened to be not far distant), caused both a daughter and a son-in-law of Marcianus, together with some others, to be assassinated. Then, after collecting as many of the soldiers remaining as he could in the short time at his disposal, he made an attack upon what was, to all intents and purposes, a most hostile fortress.

—32— He might have taken it that very day, for the Moors sent to Tarautas according to the terms of alliance fought most valiantly for Macrinus, who was a countryman of theirs, and even broke through some of the gates. But he refused the opportunity, either because he was afraid to rush in or because he expected that he could win the men inside to surrender voluntarily. As no propositions were made to him, and they furthermore built up all the gates during the night, so that they were now in a securer position, he again assaulted the place but effected nothing. For they carried Avitus (whom they were already saluting as "Marcus Aurelius Antoninus") all about upon the ramparts, and exhibited some likeness of Caracalla when a child as bearing some resemblance to their new ruler, declaring that the latter was truly Caracalla's child and his proper successor in the imperial office. "Why do you do this, fellow-soldiers?" they exclaimed. "Why do you thus fight against your benefactor's son?" By this means they corrupted all the soldiers with Julianus, especially as the troops were anxious to have a change, so that the attackers killed their commanders, save Julianus (for he effected his escape), and surrendered themselves to the False Antoninus. For when an at-

tempt to restrain them was made by their centurions and the other subordinates, and they were, as a result, hesitating, Eutychianus sent Festus (thus — according to the cubicularius of Tarautas — was one of the Cæsarians named)[1] and persuaded them to kill all such officers and offered as a prize to each soldier who should slay his man the victim's property and military rank. The boy also harangued them from the wall with fictitious statements, praising his "father" and . . . Macrinus, as . . . . A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971)

[Fourteen lines are lacking.]

. . . . . —33—

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

those left to be restored to their original property and status as citizens. But the most effective means by which he attached them to himself was his promise to give each and every one unlimited amounts of money, and to restore the exiles,— an act which would seem to make him out in truth a legitimate son of Tarautas

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. . . . . .

[Fourteen lines are lacking.]

. . . Marcianus . . . . Macrinus . . . . . —34—

(for Marcellus was dead) he put this person to death;

[1] The text is emended in accordance with a tentative suggestion of Boissevain.

A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971) but, lacking courage to proceed further on his own responsibility without Macrinus, he sent for the latter. Macrinus came quickly to the Alban soldiers at Apamea and appointed his son emperor in spite of the lad's being but ten years old, in order that with this excuse he might mollify the soldiers by various means, chief among which should be the promise of five thousand denarii; he assigned them a thousand each on the spot and restored to the rest complete allowances of food and everything else of which they had been deprived: in this way he hoped to appease them. With this same end in view he bestowed upon the populace a dinner worth one hundred and fifty denarii a head before revealing to them anything about the uprising; for he wanted it to be thought that he was banqueting them not because of that event but to show honor to his son. And on that occasion first one of the revolted soldiers approached him carrying the head of Julianus (who had been found somewhere in hiding and slain), in many linen cloths and tied up very strongly indeed with ropes, pretending it was the head of the False Antoninus. He had sealed the package with the finger ring of Julianus. After doing that the soldier ran out when the head was uncovered. Macrinus, upon discovering what had been done, no longer dared either to stay where he was or to assault the fortification, but returned to Antioch with all speed. So the Alban legion and the rest who were wintering in that region likewise revolted. The opposing parties continued

their preparations and both sides sent messengers and letters to the provinces and to the legions. As a result perturbation was caused in many places by the first communication of each side about the other and by the constant messages contradicting each other. In the course of the uncertainty numerous letter-carriers on both sides lost their lives, and numbers of those who had slain the followers of Antoninus, or had not immediately attached themselves to their cause, were censured. Some perished on this account and some merely incurred a small loss. Hence I will pass over most of this (it is all very much alike and permits of no considerable description in detail) and will give a summary of what took place in Egypt. A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971)

The governor of that country was Basilianus, whom Macrinus had also made prefect in place of Julianus. Some interests were managed also by Marius Secundus, although he had been created senator by Macrinus and was at the head of affairs in Phœnicia. In this way both of them were dependent upon Macrinus and for that reason put to death the runners of the False Antoninus. As long, therefore, as the outcome of the business was still in dispute, they and the soldiers and the individuals were in suspense, some wishing and praying and reporting one thing and others the opposite, as always in factional disturbances. When the news of the defeat of Macrinus arrived, a riot of some magnitude followed, in which many of the populace and not a few of the soldiers were destroyed. Secundus found himself in a dilemma; and Basilianus, fearing that he —35—

A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971) should lose his life instanter, effected his escape from Egypt. After coming to the vicinity of Brundusium in Italy he was discovered, having been betrayed by a friend in Rome to whom he had sent a secret message asking for food. So he was later taken back to Nicomedea and executed.

—36— Macrinus wrote also to the senate about the False Antoninus [as he did also to the governors everywhere], calling him "boy" and saying that he was mad. [He wrote also to Maximus, the præfectus urbi, giving him such information as one might expect, and further stating that the soldiers recently enlisted insisted upon receiving all that they were wont to have before, and that the rest, who had been deprived of nothing, made common cause with them in their anger at what was withheld. And to omit a recital, he said, of all the many means devised by Severus and his son for the ruin of rigid discipline, it was impossible for the troops to be given their entire pay in addition to the donatives which they were receiving; for the increase in their pay granted by Tarautas amounted to seven thousand myriads annually, and could not be given, partly because the soldiers and again because . . . . righteous . . . but the recognized expenditures . . . and the . . . .

lived the fratricide who attempted to destroy the whole world. He also added to the missive something like the following: "I know that there are many who are more anxious to have emperors killed than to have them live, but this is one thing I can not say in respect to myself, that any one could either desire or pray that I should perish." At which Fulvius Diogenianus exclaimed: "We have all prayed for it!" A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971)

The speaker was one of the ex-consuls, but not of very sound mind, and consequently he caused himself as much exasperation as he did other people. He also . . . the subscription . . . of letter . . . . . and to the . . . . leather it had been entrusted to read . . . . and those . . . . and . . . others and also . . . be sent . . . directly as . . . . hesitating . . . ordering . . . by the . . and both to others . . . . . of foremost to the . . . . . any care for the common preserver . . . . . over . . . . that the False Antoninus finding in the chests of Macrinus not yet . . . he himself voluntarily . . . published . . . calumny . . making with reference to the soldiers. And he marched so quickly against him that Macrinus could with difficulty encounter him in a village of the Antiochians one hundred and fifty stades distant from the city. There, so far as the zeal of the Pretorians went, he had him conquered (he had taken from them their breastplates with scales and their grooved shields and had thus —37—

A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971) rendered them lighter for the battle): but he was beaten by his own cowardice, as Heaven had foreshown to him. For on that day when his first letter about the imperial office was read to us a pigeon had lighted upon an image of Severus (whose name he had applied to himself) that stood in the senate-chamber. [And subsequently, when the communication about his son was sent, we had convened, not at the bidding of the consuls or the prætors (for they did not happen to be present) but of the tribunes,—a practice which by this time had fallen more or less into disuse. And he had not written even his name in the preface of the letter, though he termed him Cæsar and emperor and indicated that the contents emanated from them both. Also, in the rehearsal of events, he mentioned the name Diadumenianus, but left out that of Antoninus, though he had this title too. Such was the state of these —38— affairs; and, by Jupiter, when he sent word about the uprising of the False Antoninus, the consuls uttered certain formulæ against him, as is regularly done under such circumstances, and one of the prætors and another of the tribunes did the same. War was declared and solemnly proclaimed against the usurper and his cousin and their mothers and their grandmother, and immunity was granted to those that had taken part in the uprising, in case they should submit, according as Macrinus had promised them. For the conversation he had had with the soldiers was read aloud.] As a result of this, we all condemned still more strongly his abasement and folly. [For one thing] he was most con-

stantly calling himself " father " and Diadumenianus his " son," and he kept holding up to reproach the age of the False Antoninus, though he had designated as emperor his son, who was much younger. [Now in the battle Gannys hurriedly took possession of the narrow place in front of the village and disposed his soldiers in good order for warfare, regardless of the fact that he was most inexperienced in military matters. Of such surpassing importance is good fortune in comparison with other qualifications, that it actually bestows understanding upon the ignorant.] But his army made a very weak fight and the men would not have stood their ground, had not Mæsa and Soæmias [for they were already in the boy's retinue] leaped down from their vehicles and, rushing among the fugitives, by their lamentations restrained them from flight, and had not the lad himself been seen by them (by some divine disposition of affairs) with drawn sword on horseback charging the enemy. Even so they would have turned their backs again, had not Macrinus fled at sight of their resistance. A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971)

The latter, having been thus defeated on the eighth of June, sent his son in charge of Epagathus and some other attendants, to Artabanus, king of the Parthians. He himself went to Antioch, giving out that victory was his, to the end that he might be offered shelter there, Then, when the news of his defeat became noised abroad, in the midst of many consequent slaughters both along the roads and in the city, springing from somebody's favoring the one side or the other, he made —39—

A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971) his escape. From Antioch he proceeded by night, on horseback, with his head and whole chin shaved, and attired in a dark garment worn over his purple robe in order that he might, so far as possible, resemble an ordinary citizen. In this way, with a few companions, he reached Ægæ in Cilicia, and there, by pretending to be one of the soldiers that carried messages, he got a wagon, on which he drove through Cappadocia and Galatia and Bithynia as far as the shipyard of Eribolus, which is opposite the city of Nicomedea. It was his intention to make his way back to Rome, expecting that there he could gain some assistance from the senate and from the people. And, if he had escaped thither, he would certainly have accomplished something. For their disposition was decidedly more favorable to him, in view of the hardihood of the Syrians, the age of the False Antoninus, and the uncontrolledness of Gannys and Comazon, so that even the soldiers would either voluntarily[1] have changed their attitude or, refusing to do so, would have been overpowered. As it turned out, however, if any one recognized him in the course of his journey so far described, at least no one ventured to lay hands on him: but he came to grief on his voyage from Eribolus to Chalcedon. He did not dare to enter Nicomedea [through fear of the governor of Bithynia, Cæcilius Aristo], and so he sent to one of the procurators asking for money, and in this way he became known. He was overtaken [while still] in Chalcedon and, on the arrival of those sent

[1] Reading ἐχόντας instead of θνήσκοντας.

by the False Antoninus in order that . . . . now if ever . . . he was arrested [by Aurelius Celsus, a centurion,] and taken to Cappadocia [like a man held in no honor]. Ascertaining there that his son had also been captured [(Claudius Pollio, the centurion of the legion, had arrested him while driving through Zeugma, where, in the course of a previous journey, he had been designated Cæsar)], he threw himself from the conveyance (for he had not been bound) and at the time suffered a fracture of his shoulder; but subsequently (though not a great deal later) being sentenced to die before entering Antioch, he was slain by Marcianus Taurus, a centurion, and his body remained unburied until the False Antoninus could come from Syria into Bithynia and gloat over it. A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971)

So Macrinus, when an old man,— for he was fifty-four years of age [lacking three or five days],— and eminent in experience of affairs, displaying some degree of excellence and commanding so many legions, was overthrown by a mere child of whose very name he had previously been ignorant,— even as the oracle had foretold to him; [. . .] for upon his applying [to Zeus Belus] it had answered him: —40—

"Old man, verily warriors young harass and exhaust thee:
Utterly spent is thy strength, and a grievious eld comes upon thee!"[1]

And fleeing . . . . or . . . . , having played the part of runaway slave through the provinces which he had ruled, arrested like some robber by common

[1] From Homer's Iliad, VIII, verses 102–103.

A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971) officers, beholding himself with villains most dishonored . . . guarded before whom often many senators had been brought; and *his* death was ordered who had the authority to punish or to release any Roman whomsoever, and he was arrested and beheaded by centurions, when he had authority to put to death both them and others, inferior and superior. And his son likewise perished.

—41— This proves that no one, even of those whose foundations seem unshakable, is sure of his position, but the exceeding prosperous, equally with the rest, are poised in the balance.

And this man [would have been lauded beyond all mankind, if he had not himself desired to become emperor, but had chosen some person enrolled in the senate to stand at the head of the Roman empire and had appointed him emperor; and only in this way could he have avoided blame for the plot against Caracalla, for by such action he would have demonstrated that he resorted to it to secure his own safety and not on account of a desire for supremacy. Whereas, instead, he got himself into disrepute and ruined his career, becoming subject to reproach, and finally falling a victim to a disaster that he richly deserved. And having grasped at sole sovereignty before he had even the title of senator, he lost it very quickly and in the most disappointing way. He had ruled only a year and two months, lacking three days (a result obtained by reckoning to the date of the battle).

DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY
79

Dio's Roman History 79:—

About Avitus, called also Pseudantoninus, and the slaughter that he wrought (chapters 1–7).

About his transgression of law and how he married the Vestal (chapters 8–10).

About Eleogabalus[1] and how he summoned Urania to Rome and united her in bonds of wedlock with Eleogabalus (chapters 11–12).

About his licentiousness (chapters 13–16).

How he adopted his cousin and also renamed him Alexander (chapters 17, 18).

How he was overthrown and slain (chapters 19–21).

DURATION OF TIME.

The remainder of the consulship of Macrinus and Adventus, together with four additional years, in which there were the following magistrates, here enumerated.

Pseudantoninus (II) and Q. Tineius Sacerdos. (A. D. 219 = a. u. 972 = Second of Eleogabalus, from June 8th.)

Pseudantoninus (III) and M. Valerius Comazon. (A. D. 220 = a. u. 973 = Third of Elagabalus.)

C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus and M. Flavius Vitellius Seleucus. (A. D. 221 = a. u. 974 = Fourth of Elagabalus.)

Pseudantoninus (IV) and M. Amelius Severus Alexander. (A. D. 222 = a. u. 975 = Fifth of Elagabalus to March 11th.)

[1] It will be noted that the spelling of this word in the Greek "arguments" of the MSS. differs from that in the Greek text of the same.

(*BOOK 80, BOISSEVAIN.*)

Now Avitus, alias False Antoninus, alias Assyrian —1— or again Sardanapalus and also Tiberinus (he secured A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971) the last appellation after he had been slain and his body thrown into the Tiber) [on the very next day after the victory entered Antioch, first promising the soldiers attending him five hundred denarii apiece on condition that they should not sack the town,—a thing which they were very anxious to do. This amount he levied upon the people. And he sent to Rome such a despatch as might have been expected, speaking much evil of Macrinus, especially with reference to his low birth and his plot against Antoninus. Here is a sample of what he said: "He who was not permitted to enter even the senate-house after the proclamation debarring everybody other than senators from doing so, this man, I say, dared treacherously to murder the emperor whom he had been trusted to guard, dared to appropriate his office and to become emperor before he was senator." About himself he made many promises, not only to the soldiers but also to the senate and the people. He asserted that he should do everything without exception to emulate Augustus (to whose youth he likened his own) and also Marcus Antoninus. Yes, and he wrote also the following, alluding to the derogatory remarks made about him by Macrinus: "He undertook to censure my age, when he himself appointed a five-year old son."

Besides forwarding this communication to the senate, —2—

A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971)

he sent to the senate the records discovered among the soldiers and the letters of Macrinus written to Maximus, and sent them likewise to the legions, hoping that these would cause them to hold the preceding emperor's memory in greater detestation, and to feel greater affection for him. In both the despatch to the senate and the letter to the people he subscribed himself as emperor and Cæsar, son of Antoninus, grandson of Severus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, proconsul, and holder of the tribunician power, assuming these titles before they were voted, . the . . . not the . . but the . of . . . used[1] . . . . . the records of the soldiers . . . for of Macrinus . . . Cæsar . . . Pretorians and Alban legionaries who were in Italy . . and as consul should proclaim[2] . . . and the . . Marius Censorinus . . superintendence . . accepted . . . Macrinus . . . himself since not sufficiently by his own voice . public . . . read . . . the letters of Sardanapalus . . . . registered among the ex-consuls and gave him injunctions that if any one should resist him he should use the band of soldiers. As a consequence, though against its will, it read everything to those . . .[3] For, by reason of the necessity thrust upon

[1] Illegible MS.— Boissevain conjectures: "And he used not the name of Avitus, but that of his father."

[2] "He sent another letter to the Pretorians and to the Alban legionaries who were in Italy, in which he stated incidentally that he was consul and high-priest." (Boissevain's conjecture.)

[3] "Most of it Marius Censorinus, who was their commandant, read aloud, but the news about Macrinus he suppressed, because he thought that his single voice could not give it sufficient publicity; at the same time, however, he took it upon himself to have the letter of Sardanapalus read to the senate through the medium of Claudius Pollio, who

them, they were not able to do anything that they should or had better have done . . . . but were panic-stricken by fear. . . . . and Macrinus, whom they had often commended, they voted should be regarded as a public enemy and they abused him, together with his son; and Tarautas, whom they had often wished to declare an enemy, they now exalted and of course prayed that his son might be like him. A. D. 218 (*a. u.* 971)

This was in Rome. And Avitus assigned . . Pollio to govern . . Germany . . since the latter had very rapidly reduced Bithynia to subjection. He himself, after sojourning some months in Antioch until he had established his authority there in every direction, went into Bithynia, coadjutor . . . often . . . making Gannys, as had been his custom in the case of Antioch. Having passed the winter here he proceeded into Italy through Thrace and Mœsia and both the Pannonias, and there he abode to the end of his life. One action of his was worthy of a thoroughly good emperor: for, whereas many individuals and communities alike, including the Romans themselves, both knights and senators, had privately and publicly, by word and deed, heaped insults upon [both Caracalla and] himself as a result of the letters of Macrinus, he [neither threatened to make reprisals] in the case of a single person, nor did he make reprisals. But on the other hand he drifted into all the most obscene and —3— A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972)

had been enrolled among the ex-consuls; thus, if any opposition should develop, he would be in a position to use the band of soldiers. As a consequence the senate, though against its will, read everything to those enlisted." (Boissevain's conjecture.)

A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972) lawless and bloodthirsty practices. [Some of them, never before known in Rome, took root and grew like ancestral institutions. Others, taken up tentatively from one time[1] to another by various individuals] flourished for the three years and nine months and four days during which he ruled (to compute from the battle in which he gained supreme control). [In Syria, he caused the assassination of Nestor and Fabius Agrippinus, the governor of the country, as well as of the foremost knights belonging to the party of Macrinus; but he inflicted a similar fate upon men in Rome who were on most friendly terms with him. In Arabia, he executed Pica Cæsianus,[2] entrusted with the administration, because he had not immediately declared his allegiance; and, in Cyprus, Claudius Attalus, because he had fallen out with Comazon. Attalus had once been governor of Thrace, had been expelled from the senate by Severus in the war with Niger, but was restored to it by Tarautas, and had at this time been assigned to Cyprus, as the lot directed. He had incurred Comazon's ill-will by having formerly reduced him to the position of rower in a trireme as a punishment for some villany which the latter committed while serving
—4— in Thrace.] This incident sheds some light on the character of Comazon, who got this name from mimes and buffoonery.[3] He commanded the Pretorians and,

1 Reading ἄλλοτε (Bekker, Dindorf) in place of ἄλλα τε.

2 *P. Numicius Pica Cæsianus.*

3 This statement is an error on the part of Xiphilinus, who thought that "Comazon" (in Greek = The Reveler) was a nickname for a certain Eutychianus. Investigations, however, show that there was a M. Valerius Comazon prominent at this time and that the word should be taken as a proper and not as a vulgar noun.

though holding no position of management or superintendence whatever, except over the camp, [he obtained the consular honors] and subsequently actually became consul. [Also he became city prefect] not merely once, but twice and thrice, as could be recorded in no other case. Wherefore this, too, must be enumerated among the most illegal proceedings. [It was on his account, then, that Attalus was put to death. A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972)

Triccianus came to his end on account of the Alban legion, which he commanded with good discipline during Macrinus's reign, and Castinus[1] because he was energetic and was known to many soldiers in consequence of the commands he had held and his association with Antoninus. He had accordingly been sent out in advance by Macrinus without reference to other events and was living in Bithynia. The emperor put him to death in spite of having written concerning him to the senate that Triccianus had been banished from Rome, like Julius Asper, by Macrinus, and that he had restored him. He took similar vengeance on Sulla, who had been governing Cappadocia but had relinquished it, because Sulla both meddled in some matters that did not concern him and when summoned to Rome by Elagabalus had managed to meet the Celtic soldiers returning home after their winter in Bithynia, a period during which they had raised some little disturbance. These men perished for the reasons specified and no statements about them were communicated to the sen-

[1] *C. Iulius Septimius Castinus.*

A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972) ate. Seius Carus, the descendant of Fuscianus, who had been city prefect, was killed because he was rich, great, and sensible, on the pretext that he was forming a league of some of the soldiers belonging to the Alban legion; and, on the basis of some charges preferred by the emperor alone, he was accused in the palace, where he was also slain.] Valerianus Pætus lost his life because he had stamped some likeness of himself upon gold pieces to serve as ornaments for his mistresses. [This led to the accusation that he intended to remove to Cappadocia, a country bordering on his own (he was a Gaul), for the purpose of starting a revolution, and that this was why he made gold pieces bearing his
—5— own figure. On these charges] Silius Messala and Pomponius Bassus [also were condemned to death by the senate: they] incurred blame because they were not pleased with what he was doing. He did not hesitate to write this statement about them to the senate, and called them investigators of his habits of life and censors of proceedings in the palace. ["The proofs of their plot I have not sent you," he said, "because it would be useless to read them, in view of the fact that the men are already dead."] There was another cause of dislike underlying [the case against Messala,— the point, namely, that he sturdily made public many facts in the senate. This was what led the emperor at the outset to send for him to come to Syria, pretending to have very great need of him, whereas his real fear was that Messala might bring about a change of attitude on the part of the senators.

The cause in] the case of Bassus was that he had a wife both fair to look upon and of noble rank; she was a descendant of Claudius Severus and of Marcus Antoninus. Indeed, the prince married her, not allowing her even to mourn the catastrophe. Now of his marriages, in which he both married and was bestowed in marriage, an account will be given presently. He appeared both as man and as woman, and performed the functions of both in the most licentious fashion . . . about . . . . . and . . . . . by whom

. . . . . .

own . . . . . Sergius . . . . . and . . . . . out of . . . . any . . . making

. . . . . .

him . . . blame for . . . slaughter the . . . and of knights . . . Cæsarians . . . —6— . . . were destroyed . . . nothing . . . . but by killing in Nicomedea at the very start of his reign Gannys, who had arranged the uprising, who had introduced him into the camp and had likewise caused [the soldiers to revolt, who had presented him with the victory over Macrinus, one who had reared and managed him,— by this act he came to be regarded as the most impious of men. To be sure, Gannys was living rather luxuriously and was fond of accepting bribes, but for all that he brought no injury upon anybody and bestowed many benefits upon many people. Most of all, he always showed a deep respect for the emperor,

A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972)

A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972) and he was thoroughly satisfactory to Mæsa and Soæmias, suiting the former because she had brought him up and the latter because he practically lived with her. But these were not the reasons why the emperor put him out of the way, seeing that he was willing to give him a marriage contract and appoint him Cæsar. It was rather that Gannys compelled him to live temperately and prudently. And his own hand was the first to give his minister a mortal blow, since no one of the soldiers had the hardihood to take the initiative in his murder.— These events, then, took place in this way.

—7— . . . Another pair executed were Verus, who had likewise mustered courage to make an attempt upon the sovereignty while in the midst of the third (Gallic) legion, which he was commanding; and Gellius Maximus, on the same sort of charge, though he was lieutenant in Syria proper and at the head of the fourth (Scythian) legion. For to such an extent had everything got upside down, that these men, too, one of whom had been enrolled in the senate from the ranks of the centurions and the other of whom was the son of a physician, took it into their heads to aim at the imperial office. I have mentioned them alone by name, not so much because they were the only ones who appeared entirely insane as because they belonged to the senate; for other attempts were made. A certain centurion's son undertook to throw into disorder the same Gallic legion, and another, a worker in wool, tampered with the Fourth, and a third, a private citizen, with the fleet

in harbor at Cyzicus when the False Antoninus was wintering at Nicomedea. And there were many others elsewhere, so that it became a very ordinary thing for those who so wished to hazard the chance of fomenting rebellion and becoming emperor. They were encouraged partly by the fact that many persons had entered upon the supreme office without expecting or deserving it. Let no one be incredulous of my statements, for the facts about the private citizens I ascertained from men who are worthy of confidence, and of what I have written about the fleet I gained an exact knowledge in Pergamum, close at hand, the affairs of which, as also of Smyrna, I managed, having been assigned to duty there by Macrinus. And in view of this attempt none of the others seemed at all incredible to me. A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972)

This is what he did in the way of murders. His acts which varied from our ancestral precedents, however, were of simple character and inflicted no great harm upon us. Some noteworthy innovations were his applying to himself certain titles connected with his sovereignty before they had been voted, as I have already described,[1] and again his enrolling himself in the consulship in place of Macrinus when he had not been elected to it and did not enter upon any of its duties (the time expiring too soon): yet at first, in three letters, he had referred to the year by the name of Adventus, as if assuming that the latter had been sole consul. Other points were that he undertook to be consul a second time, without having secured any office —8—

[1] See Chapter 2.

A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972) previously or the privileges of any office, and that while consul in Nicomedea he did not employ the triumphal costume on the Day of Vows.[1]

—11— With his infractions of law is connected also the matter of Elagabalus. The offence consisted, not in his introducing a foreign god into Rome, or in his exalting him in very strange ways, but in his placing him before even Jupiter and having himself voted his priest, in his circumcising his foreskin and abstaining from swine's flesh [on the ground that his devotion would be purer by this means. He had thought of cutting off his genitals altogether, but that was an idea prompted by salaciousness; the circumcision which he actually accomplished was a part of the priestly requirements of Elagabalus. Hence he mutilated in like manner numerous of his associates.] A further offence was his being frequently seen in public clad in the barbaric dress which the Syrian priests employ, a circumstance which had more to do than anything else with his getting the name of "The Assyrian."

(—12—) ¶ A golden statue of False Antoninus was erected, distinguished by its great and varied adornment.

¶ Macrinus, though he found considerable money in the treasury, squandered it all, and incomes did not suffice for expenditures.

—9— As to his marriage. He espoused Cornelia Paula in order that he might sooner (these are his words) be-

[1] Translated by Sturz "*votivorum ludorum die.*" What festival is meant is uncertain, but it is probably *not* the Compitalia (III. Non. Ian.).

Here ends the parchment codex, Vaticanus 1288.

come a father,— he, who could not even be a man. On the occasion of his marriage not only the senate and the equestrian order but also the wives of the senators received some distribution of presents. The people were given a banquet at the per capita rate of one hundred and fifty denarii, and the soldiers had one that cost a hundred more. There were contests of gladiators at which the prince wore a purple-bordered toga, the same as he had done at the ludi votivi. Various beasts were slain, among them an elephant and fifty-one tigers, a greater number than had ever yet been despatched at one time. Afterwards he dismissed Paula on the pretext that she had some blemish on her person and cohabited with Aqulia Severa,— a most flagrant breach of law. She was consecrated to Vesta and yet he most sinfully ravished her and actually dared to say: "I did it in order that godlike children may spring from me, the high-priest, and from her, the high-priestess." He felicitated himself on an act which was destined to lead to his being maltreated in the Forum and thrown into prison and subsequently put to death. However, he did not keep even this woman for long, but married a second, and then a third, and still another; after that he went back to Severa. A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972)

Portents had been taking place in Rome, one of them from the statue of Isis, which is borne upon a dog above the pediment of her temple: it consisted in her turning her face towards the interior.— Sardanapalus was conducting games and numerous spectacles, in which Aurelius Helix, the athlete, won renown. How far he —10—

A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972) surpassed his adversaries is shown by his wishing to contend in both wrestling and pancratium at Olympia, and by his winning victories in both at the Capitolina. The Eleans, being jealous of him, and through fear that he might prove the eighth from Hercules (as the saying is),[1] would not call any wrestler into the stadium, in spite of their having inscribed this contest on the bulletin-board. But in Rome he won each of the two games,— a feat that no one else had accomplished.

(— 11 —) And here I must omit mention of the barbaric chants which Sardanapalus chanted to Elagabalus, and his mother and grandmother, all three, as also of the secret sacrifices that he offered to him: at these he slaughtered boys, and used charms, besides shutting up in the god's temple a live lion and monkey and snake, throwing in among them human genitals, and practicing other unholy rites, while he wore invariably innumerable

— 12 — amulets. But to run briefly over these matters, he actually (most ridiculous of all) courted a wife for Elagabalus, on the assumption that the god wanted marriage and children. Such a wife might be neither poor nor low-born, and so he chose the Carthaginian Urania, summoned her to come thence, and established her in the palace. He gathered wedding gifts for her from all his subjects, as he might have done in the case of his own wives. All these presents that were given during his lifetime were exacted later, but in the way of dowry he declared that nothing should be brought save the gold lions, which were melted down.

[1] The history and significance of this proverb are not known.

But this Sardanapalus, who thought it right to make the gods cohabit under the form of marriage, himself lived from first to last most licentiously. [He married many women] and had liaisons with many more [without any lawful title], yet it was not that he cared about them; he simply wanted to imitate their actions when he should lie with his lovers [and get accomplices in his excesses by returning to them indiscriminately]. He used his body for doing and allowing many unheard of things which no one would endure telling or hearing, but his most conspicuous acts, which it would be impossible to conceal, were the following. He would go by night, wearing a wig of long hair, into the taverns and ply the trade of a female huckster. He frequented the notorious brothels, drove out the prostitutes, and prostituted himself. Finally, he set aside a room in the palace and there committed his indecencies, standing all the time naked at the door of it, as the harlots do, and shaking the curtain, which was fastened by gold rings, the while in a soft and melting voice he solicited the passers-by. Certain persons had been given special orders to let themselves be attracted to his abode. For, as in other matters, so in this business, too, he had numerous detectives through whom he sought out the persons who could please him most by their foulness. He would collect money from his patrons and put on airs over his gains: he would also dispute with his associates in this shameful occupation, saying that he had more lovers than they and took in more money. This is the way he behaved to all alike

—13— A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972)

—14—

A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972) that enjoyed his services. But he had, besides, one chosen man whom he accordingly desired to appoint Cæsar.

Also, arrayed in the Green uniform, he drove a chariot privately and at home,—if one can call that place home where contests were conducted by the foremost of his suite [and knights and Cæsarians], the very prefects, his grandmother, his mother, his women, and likewise several members of the senate, including Leo, the præfectus urbi, and where they watched him playing charioteer and begging gold coin like any vagabond, and bowing down before the managers of the games and the members of the factions.

[Now in trying anybody in court he really did have the appearance of a man, but everywhere else his actions and the quality of his voice showed the wantonness of youth. For instance, he used to dance not only in the orchestra but more or less also while walking, performing sacrifice, greeting friends or making speeches.

And finally (to go back now to the story which I began) he was bestowed in marriage and was termed wife, mistress, queen. He worked in wool, sometimes wore a hair-net, painted his eyes [daubing them with white lead and alkanet], and once he shaved his chin and celebrated a festival to mark the event. After that he went with smooth face, because it would help him appear like a woman, and he often reclined while
—15— greeting the senators. "Her" husband was Hierocles, a Carian slave [once the favorite of Gordius], from

whom he had learned chariot-driving. It was in this connection, also, that by a most unexpected chance he won the imperial approbation. At a horse-race Hierocles fell out of his chariot just opposite the seat of Sardanapalus, losing his helmet in his fall. Being still beardless and adorned with a crown of yellow hair, he attracted the attention of the prince and was at once carried hastily to the palace; and by his nocturnal feats he captivated Sardanapalus more than ever and rose to still greater power. Consequently his influence became even greater than his patron's and it was thought a small thing that his mother, while still a slave, should be brought to Rome by soldiers and be numbered among the wives of ex-consuls. Certain other persons, too, were not seldom honored by the emperor and became powerful, some because they had joined in his uprising and others because they committed adultery with him. For he was anxious to have the reputation of committing adultery, that in this respect, too, he might imitate the most lascivious women; and he would often get caught voluntarily and in the very act. Then, for his conduct, he would be brutally abused by his husband and would be beaten, so that he had black eyes. His affection for this "husband" was no light inclination, but a serious matter and a firmly fixed passion, so much so that he did not become vexed at any such harsh treatment, but on the contrary loved him the more for it, and actually wished to appoint him Cæsar;— he threatened his grandmother when she interfered, and chiefly on this man's account he became at odds with

A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972)

A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972) the soldiers. It was this that was destined to lead to his destruction.

—16— As for Aurelius Zoticus, a native of Smyrna, whom they also called "Cook" (from his father's trade), he incurred the sovereign's thorough love and thorough hatred, and consequently his life was saved. This Aurelius had a body that was beautiful all over, as if ready for a gymnastic contest, and he surpassed everybody in the size of his private parts. The fact was reported to the emperor by those who were on the lookout for such features and the man was suddenly snatched away from the games and taken to Rome, accompanied by an immense procession, larger than Abgarus had in the reign of Severus or Tiridates in that of Nero. He was appointed cubicularius before he had been even seen by the emperor, [was honored by the name of his grandfather, Avitus, was adorned with garlands as at a festival,] and entered the palace the center of a great glare of lights. Sardanapalus, on seeing him, rose with modesty; the newcomer addressed him, as was usual, "My Lord Emperor, hail!" whereupon the other, bending his neck so as to assume a ravishing feminine pose, and turning his eyes wide open upon him, answered without hesitation: "Call me not Lord, for I am a Lady." Then Sardanapalus immediately took a bath with him, and, finding his guest when stripped to correspond to the report of him, burned with even greater lust, reposed upon his breast, and took dinner, like some loved mistress, in his bosom. Hierocles began to fear that Zoticus would bring the

emperor into a greater state of subjection than he himself was able to effect, and that he might suffer some terrible fate at his hands, as often happens in the case of rival lovers. Therefore he had the wine-bearers, who were well-disposed to him, administer some drug that abated the visitor's ferocity. And so Zoticus after a whole night of embarrassment, being unable to secure an erection, was deprived of all that he had obtained, and was driven out of the palace, out of Rome, and later out of the remainder of Italy; and this saved his life. [However, the emperor drove himself to such a frenzy of lewdness that he asked the physicians to contrive a woman's vagina in his person by means of an incision, and held out to them the hope of great pay for this achievement.] A. D. 219 (*a. u.* 972)

Sardanapalus himself was destined not much later to receive his well-deserved pay for his own defilement. For his acting in this way and for making himself the object of these actions he became hated by the populace and by the soldiers to whom he was most attached, and at last he was slain by them in the very camp. —17—

¶ The False Antoninus was despised and put out of the way by the soldiers. When any persons, particularly if armed, have accustomed themselves to feel contempt for their rulers, they set no limits on their right to do what they please but keep their arms ready to use even against the very man who gave them whatever rights they possess.

This is how it happened. He introduced his cousin Bassianus before the senate, and, having stationed Mæsa and Soæmias on either hand, adopted him as his child. Then did he congratulate himself on being suddenly the father of so large a child (as if he surpassed him much in age) and declared that he needed no other offspring to keep his house free from despondency. A. D. 221 (*a. u.* 974)

A. D. 221 (*a. u.* 974) Elagabalus, he said, had ordered him to do this and further to call his son's name Alexander. And I for my part am persuaded that it came about in very truth by some divine intention, and I base my inference not upon what he said but upon what was said to him by some one, viz., that an Alexander would come from Emesa to succeed him, and again on what took place

—18— in upper Mœsia and in Thrace. A little before this a spirit, declaring that he was the famous Alexander of Macedon, wearing his appearance and all his apparatus, started from the regions near the Ister, appearing there in I know not what way. It traversed Thrace and Asia, reveling in company with four hundred male attendants, who were equipped with thyrsi and fawn-skins and did no harm. The fact was admitted by all those who lived in Thrace at that time that lodgings and all the provisions for It were provided at public expense. And no one dared to oppose It either by word or by deed,— no governor, no soldier, no procurator, no heads of provinces,— but It proceeded, as if in a daylight procession prescribed by proclamation, to the confines of Bithynia. Leaving that point, It approached the Chalcedonian land and there, after performing some sacred rite by night and burying a wooden horse, It vanished. These facts I ascertained while still in Asia, as I stated, and before anything at all had been done about Bassianus in Rome.

¶ One day the same man said this: "I have no need of titles derived from war and blood. It suffices me to have you call me 'Pious' and 'Fortunate'."

¶ The False Antoninus on receiving praise from the senate one day

remarked: "Yes, you love me and, by Jupiter, so does the populace and likewise the foreign legions. But I do not satisfy the Pretorians, to whom I keep giving so much." A. D. 221 (*a. u.* 974)

So long as Sardanapalus continued to love his cousin, he was safe. But, since he was suspicious of all men, and learned that their favor was turning solely and absolutely to the boy, he dared to change his mind and worked in every way to effect his overthrow. —19— A. D. 222 (*a. u.* 975)

¶ Some persons were conversing with the False Antoninus and remarked how fortunate he was to be consul along with his son. He rejoined: "I shall be more fortunate next year, for then I'm going to be consul with my truly-begotten son."

The moment, though, that he tried to destroy him, he not only accomplished nothing but ran the risk of being killed himself. Alexander was sedulously guarded by his mother and his grandmother and the soldiers, and the Pretorians, on becoming aware of the attempt of Sardanapalus, raised a terrible tumult. They would not cease their rebellious attitude until Sardanapalus, with Alexander, visited the camp; and he poured out his supplications and under compulsion gave up such of his companions in lewdness as the soldiers demanded. In behalf of Hierocles he pled piteously and lamented him with tears, foretelling his own death, and adding: "Grant me this one man, whatever you are pleased to suspect about him, or else kill me!" and thus with difficulty he succeeded in appeasing them. On this occasion, then, he was saved, though with difficulty. His grandmother hated him for his practices (which seemed to show that he was not the son of Antoninus) and was coming to favor Alexander, as being really sprung from him. Later he again made —20—

A. D. 222 (*a. u.* 975) a plot against Alexander and, as the Pretorians raised an outcry at this, entered the camp with him. Then he became aware that he was under guard and awaiting execution, for the mothers of the two, being more openly at variance with each other than before, were stirring up the soldiers to action. He then made an attempt to flee, and intended to escape to some point by being placed in a box, but was discovered and slain, having reached eighteen years of age. His mother, who embraced and clung tightly to him, perished with him; their heads were cut off and their bodies, after being stripped naked, were first dragged all over the city, and then the woman's trunk was cast off in some
—21— corner, while his was thrown into the river. With him perished Hierocles, and others, and the prefects; and Aurelius Eubulus, who was an Emesenian by race [and had gone so far in lewdness and defilement that his surrender had earlier been demanded by the populace]. He had been entrusted with the general accounts[1] and there was nothing that escaped his confiscations. So now he was torn to pieces by the populace and the soldiers, and Fulvius, the city prefect, with him. Comazon succeeded the latter, as he had succeeded Fulvius's predecessor. Just as a mask used to be carried into the theatres to occupy the stage during the intervals in the acting, when it was left vacant by the comedians, so was Comazon put in the vacant place of the men who had been prefects in his day over the

[1] One of the *rationales summarum.*

city of Rome.—As for Elagabalus,[1] he was banished from Rome altogether. A. D. 222 (*a. u.* 975)

Such was the story of Tiberinus: and none of those even who helped him arrange the uprising and attained great power in return, save perhaps a single individual,[2] survived.

1 Elagabalus, the god.
2 This probably refers to Comazon.

DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY
80

Why Dio was not able to relate in detail the history of the reign of Alexander (chapter 1).

About Ulpian, Pretorian Prefect, and his death (chapter 2).

Undertakings of Artaxerxes the Persian against the Parthians and Romans (chapters 3, 4).

Dio's second consulship, his return to his own country, and conclusion of the History (chapter 5).

DURATION OF TIME.

Duration of time eight years, in which the following are enumerated as consuls.

Antoninus Elagabalus (IV), M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Coss. (A. D. 222 = a. u. 975 = First of Alexander, from March 11th.)

L. Marius Maximus (II), L. Roscius Ælianus. (A. D. 223 = a. u. 976 = Second of Alexander.)

Iulianus (II), Crispinus. (A. D. 224 = a. u. 977 = Third of Alexander.)

Fuscus (II), Dexter. (A. D. 225 = a. u. 978 = Fourth of Alexander.)

Alexander Aug. (II), C. Marcellus Quintilianus (II). (A. D. 226 = a. u. 979 = Fifth of Alexander.)

Lucius Albinus, Max. Æmilius Æmilianus. (A. D. 227 = a. u. 980 = Sixth of Alexander.)

T. Manilius Modestus, Ser. Calpurnius Probus. (A. D. 228 = a. u. 981 = Seventh of Alexander.)

Alexander Aug. (III), Cassius Dio (II). (A. D. 229 = a. u. 982 = Eighth of Alexander.).

Alexander became emperor immediately after him —1— A.D.222-229 (*a. u.* 975-982) [and at once proclaimed Augusta, his own mother, Mammæa, who had in hand the administration of affairs and gathered wise men about her son, that by their guidance he might be duly trained in morals; and she chose out of the senate the better class of counselors, to whom she communicated everything that had to be done]. He entrusted to one Domitius Ulpianus the command of the Pretorians and the remaining business of the empire.— These matters I have set down in detail, so far as I was able, in each case, but of the rest I have not found it feasible to give a detailed account, for the reason that for a long time I did not sojourn in Rome. After going from Asia to Bithynia I fell sick, and from there I hurried to my duties as head of Africa. On returning to Italy I was almost immediately sent to govern in Dalmatia and from there into Upper Pannonia. After that I came back to Rome and on reaching Campania at once set out for home. For these reasons, then, I have not been able to compile —2— an account of what follows similar to that which precedes. I will narrate briefly, however, all the things that were done up to the time of my second consulship.

Ulpianus corrected many of the irregular practices instituted by Sardanapalus; but, after putting to death Flavianus and Chrestus, that he might succeed them, he was himself before long slain by the Pretorians, who attacked him in the night; and it availed nothing that he ran to the palace and took refuge with the emperor himself and the latter's mother.— Even during his lifetime a great dispute had arisen between the populace

A.D.222–229 (*a. u.* 975–982) and the Pretorians, from some small cause, with the result that they fought each other for three days, and many were lost by both sides. The soldiers, on getting the worst of it, directed their efforts to firing the buildings, and so the populace, fearing that the whole city would be destroyed, reluctantly came to terms with them. Besides these occurrences, Epagathus, who was believed to have been chiefly[1] responsible for the death of Ulpianus, was sent into Egypt, supposedly to govern it, but really to prevent any disturbance taking place in Rome when he met with punishment. From there he was taken to Crete and executed. [Alexander's mother, being a slave to money, gathered funds from all sources. She also brought home for her son a spouse, whom she would not allow to be addressed as Augusta. After a time, however, she separated her from her son and drove her away to Libya, in spite of the woman's possessing his affections. Alexander, however, could not oppose his mother, for she ruled him absolutely.]

—3— Many uprisings were made by many persons, some of which caused serious alarm, but they were all checked. But affairs in Mesopotamia were still more terrifying, and provoked in the hearts of all, not merely the men of Rome but the rest of mankind, a fear that had a truer foundation. Artaxerxes, a Persian, having conquered the Parthians in three battles and killed their king, Artabanus, [made a campaign against Hatra, which he endeavored to take as a base for attacking the Romans. He did make a breach in the wall but, as he lost a number of soldiers through an ambuscade, he

[1] Reading τὸ πλέον (Reimar, Bekker, Boissevain).

transferred his position into Media. Of this district, A.D.222–229 (*a. u.* 975–982)
as also of Parthia, he acquired no small portion, partly
by force and partly by intimidation, and then] marched
against Armenia. Here he suffered a reverse at the
hands of the natives, some Medes, and the children of
Artabanus, and either fled (as some say) or (as others
assert) retired to prepare a larger expedition. He —4—
accordingly became a source of fear to us; for he was
encamped with a large army over against not Meso-
potamia only but Syria also and boasted that he would
win back everything that the ancient Persians had once
held, as far as the Grecian Sea. It was, he said, his
rightful inheritance from his forefathers. He was of
no particular account himself, but our military affairs
are in such a condition that some joined his cause and
others refused to defend themselves. The troops are
so distinguished by wantonness, and arrogance, and
freedom from reproof, that those in Mesopotamia dared
to kill their commander, Flavius Heracleo, and the
Pretorians found fault with me before Ulpianus be-
cause I ruled the soldiers in Pannonia with a strong
hand; and they demanded my surrender, through fear
that some one might compel them to submit to a régime
similar to that of the Pannonian troops. Alexander, —5—
however, paid no attention to them, but promoted me
in various ways, appointing me to be consul for the
second time, as his colleague, and taking upon himself
personally the responsibility of meeting the expendi-
tures of my office. As the malcontents evinced dis-
pleasure at this, he became afraid that they might kill

A.D.222–229 (*a. u.* 975–982) me if they saw me in the insignia of my office, and he bade me spend the period of my consulship in Italy, somewhere outside of Rome. Later, accordingly, I came both to Rome and to Campania to visit him. After spending a few days in his company, during which the soldiers saw me without offering to do me any harm, I started for home, being released on account of the trouble with my feet. Consequently, I expect to spend all the remainder of my life in my own country, as the Divine Presence revealed to me most clearly at the time I was in Bithynia. Once, in a dream there, I thought I saw myself commanded by it to write at the close of my work the following verses:

"Hector was led of Zeus far out of the range of the missiles,
Out of the dust and the slaying of men, out of blood and of uproar." [1]

[1] From Homer's Iliad, XI, verses 163–4.

PRESERVED FROM BOOKS PRECEDING No. 36.

(The "Fragments" of Dio.)

1. Dio says: "I am anxious to write a history of all (that is worth remembering) done by the Romans both at peace and in war, so as to have nothing essential lacking, either of those matters or of others. (Valesius, p. 569.) Frag. I

2. . . . . everything about them, so to speak, that has been written by any persons, and I have put in my history not everything but what I have selected. However, let no one entertain any suspicions (as has happened in the case of some other writers), regarding the truth of it merely because I have used elaborate diction to whatever extent the subject matter permitted; for I have been anxious to be equally perfect in both respects so far as was possible. I will begin at the point where I have obtained the clearest accounts of what is reported to have taken place in this land which we inhabit.

This territory in which the city of Rome has been built . . . . . (Mai, p. 135.)

1. Ausonia, as Dio Cocceianus writes, is properly the land of the Aurunci only, lying between the Campanians and Volsci along the sea-coast. Many persons, however, thought that Ausonia extended even as far as Latium, so that all of Italy was called from it Ausonia. (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 44, and 615, 702.) Frag. II

2. Where now Chone is there was formerly a district called Œnotria, in which Philoctetes settled after the sack of Troy as Dionysius and Dio Cocceianus and

Frag. II all those who write the story of Rome relate. (Idem, v. 912.)

3. ¶ About the Etruscans Dio says: "These facts about them required to be written at this point in the narrative, and elsewhere something else and later some still different fact will be told as occasion demands, in whatever way the course of the history may chance to prepare the point temporarily under discussion. Let this same explanation be sufficient[1] to cover also the remaining matters of importance. For I shall recount to the best of my ability all the exploits of the Romans, but as to the rest only what has a bearing on the Romans will be written." (Mai, p. 136.)

Frag. III 1. Dio and Dionysius give the story of Cacus (Tzetzes, History, 5, 21).

2. In this way the country was called Italy. Picus was the first king of it, and after him his son Faunus, when Heracles came there with the rest of the kine of Geryon. And he begat Latinus by the wife of Faunus, who was king of the people there, and from him all were called Latins. In the fifty-fifth year after Heracles this Æneas, subsequent to the capture of Troy, came, as we have remarked, to Italy and the Latins. He landed near Laurentum, called also Troy, near the River Numicius along with his own son by Creusa, Ascanius or Ilus. There his followers ate their tables, which were of parsley or of the harder portions of bread loaves (they had no real tables);

[1] The MS. here has ἔχοντες = "being (*plural*) sufficient." I have adopted the reading ἐχέτω, suggested by Melber.

and likewise a white sow leaped from his boat and running to the Alban mount, named from her, gave birth to a litter of thirty, by which she indicated that in the thirtieth year his children should get fuller possession of both land and sovereignty. As he had heard of this beforehand from an oracle he ceased his wanderings, sacrificed the sow, and prepared to found a city. Latinus would not put up with him, but being defeated in war gave Æneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Æneas then founded a city and called it Lavinium. When Latinus and Thurnus, king of the Rutuli, perished in war each at the other's hands, Æneas became king. Frag. III

After Æneas had been killed in war at Laurentum by the same Rutuli and Mezentius the Etruscan, and Lavinia the wife of Æneas was pregnant (of Silvius[1]), Ascanius the child of Creusa was king. He finally conquered Mezentius, who had opposed him in war and had refused to receive his embassies but sought to command all the dependents of Latinus for an annual tribute. When the Latins had grown strong because of the arrival of the thirtieth year, they scorned Lavinium and founded a second city named from the sow Alba Longa, i. e. "long white,"— and likewise called the mountain there Albanus. Only, the images from Troy turned back a second time to Lavinium.

After the death of Ascanius it was not Ascanius's son Iulus who became king, but Æneas's son by

1 Reimar thinks this word a later interpolation.

Frag. III Lavinia, Silvius,— or, according to some Ascanius's son Silvius. Silvius again begat another Æneas, and he Latinus, and he Capys. Capys had a child Tiberinus, whose son was Amulius, whose son was Aventinus.

So far regarding Alba and Albanians. The story of Rome follows. Aventinus begat Numitor and Amulius. Numitor while king was driven out by Amulius, who killed Numitor's son Ægestes in a hunting party and made the sister of Ægestes, daughter of the aforesaid Numitor, Silvia or Rhea Ilia, a priestess of Vesta, so that she might remain a virgin. He stood in terror of an oracle which foretold his death at the hands of the children of Numitor. For this reason he had killed Ægestes and made the other a priestess of Vesta, that she might continue a virgin and childless. But she while drawing water in Mars's grove conceived, and bore Romulus and Remus. The daughter of Amulius by supplication rescued her from being put to death, but the babes she gave to Faustulus, a shepherd, husband of Laurentia, to expose in the vicinity of the river Tiber. These the shepherd's wife took and reared up; for it happened that she had about that time brought forth a still-born infant.

When Romulus and Remus were grown they kept flocks in the fields of Amulius, but as they killed some of the shepherds of their grandfather Numitor a watch was set for them. Remus being arrested, Romulus ran and told Faustulus, and he ran to narrate

everything to Numitor. Finally Numitor recognized them to be his own daughter's children. They with the assistance of many persons killed Amulius, and after bestowing the kingdom of Alba on their grandfather Numitor themselves made a beginning of founding Rome in the eighteenth year of Romulus's life. Prior to this great Rome, which Romulus founded on the Palatine mount about the dwelling of Faustulus, another Rome in the form of a square had been founded by a Romulus and Remus older than these. Frag. III

(Is. Tzetzes on Lycophron, 1232. Consequently Dio must have written what is found in Zonaras 7, 3 [vol. II, p. 91, 7–10:]

"Romulus has been described as eighteen years old when he joined in settling Rome. He founded it around the dwelling of Faustulus. The place had been named Palatium."

3. I have related previously at some length the story how Æneas founded Lavinium, though these ignorant persons say Rome. See how *they* tell the story. Æneas received an oracle to found the city on the spot where his companions should devour their own tables. Now when they came to Italy and were in want of tables they used loaves instead of tables. Finally they ate also the tables — or the loaves. Æneas, consequently, understanding the oracle founded there the Lavinian city, even if the ignorant do say Rome. (Is. Tzetz. on Lycophr. 1250.) (Cp. Frag. III, 4.)

4. ¶Rome is part of the Latin country and the Latins have the same name as Latinus, who is said to be the son of Odysseus and Circe, and the Tiber,

Frag. III once called Albulus, received its change of name from the fact that King Tiberius lost his life in it; this is proclaimed by Dio's history among others. The Tiberius here meant by the history is not the one subsequent to Augustus, but another who came earlier. He, they say, died in battle and was carried away by the stream, and so left his own name to the river. (Eustathius on Dionysius, 350.)

5. Arceisius — Laertes was a son of Arceisius who was so called either from ἀρκέω ἀρκέσω [1] as if he were able merely to be sufficient (ἐπαρκέω), whence comes the epithet ποδάρκης (sufficient with the feet) or else because an *arkos* or *arktos* (bear) suckled him, just as some one else was suckled by a horse or goat, and still others by a wolf, among whom were also the Roman chiefs (according to Dio),— Remus, that is to say, and Romulus, whom a wolf (lykaina) suckled, called by the Italians *lupa;* this name has been aptly used metaphorically as a title for the *demi-monde.*

Frag. IV (Eustathius on the Odyssey, p. 1961, 13–16.)

1. . . . . (for it is not possible that one who is a mortal should either foresee everything, or find a way to turn aside what is destined to occur) children to punish his wrongdoing were born [infinitive] of that maiden.[2] (Mai, p. 136.)

2. ¶Romulus and Remus, by their quarrel together, made it plain that some can bear dangers straight through life altogether more easily than good fortune. (Mai, p. 136.)

[1] These are the first two principal parts of a Greek verb meaning "to be sufficient."

[2] I. e., Rhea Sylvia.

3. On Romulus and Remus Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes remarks in his History, and so do Dio and Diodorus. (Scholia of Io. Tzetzes in Exeg. Hom. Il. p. 141, 20.) Frag. IV

4. After they had set about the building of the city a dispute arose between the brothers regarding the sovereignty and regarding the city, and they got into a conflict in which Remus was killed. (Zonaras, 7, 3, vol. II, p. 90, 7 sqq.) (Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

5. Whence also the custom arose that he who dared to cross the trench of the camp otherwise than by the usual paths should be put to death. (Zonaras, ib., p. 90, 16–18.)

6. They themselves[1] learned well and taught others the lesson that those who take vengeance on others are not certainly right merely because the others have previously done wrong, and that those who make demands on stronger men do not necessarily get them, but often lose the rest besides. (Mai, p. 136.)

7. ¶Hersilia and the rest of the women of her kin on discovering them one day drawn up in opposing ranks ran down from the Palatine with their little children (children had already been born), and rushing suddenly into the space between the armies aroused much pity by their words and their actions. Looking now at the one side and now at the other they cried: "Why, fathers, do you do this? Why, husbands, do you do it? When will you stop fighting?

1 The Cæninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates are meant (Bekker). — Compare Livy, I, 10, 11.

Frag. IV When will you stop hating each other? Make peace with your sons-in-law! Make peace with your fathers-in-law! For Pan's sake spare your children, for Quirinus's sake your grandchildren! Pity your daughters, pity your wives! For if you refuse to make peace and some bolt of madness has fallen upon your heads to drive you to frenzy, then kill at once us, the causes of your contention, and slay at once the little children whom you hate, that with no longer any name or bond of kinship between you you may gain the greatest of evils — to slay the grandsires of your children and the fathers of your grandchildren." As they said this they tore open their garments and exposed their breasts and abdomens, while some pressed themselves against the swords and others threw their children against them. Moved by such sounds and sights the men began to weep, so that they desisted from battle and came together for a conference there, just as they were, in the *comitium,* which received its name from this very event. (Mai, p. 137.)

8. Tribous Trittys; or a third part. Romulus's heavy-armed men, three thousand in number (as Dio tells us in the first book of his History), were divided into three sections called *tribous,* i. e. trittyes, which the Greeks also termed "tribes." Each trittys was separated into ten *Curiæ* or "thinking bodies"— *cura* meaning thoughtfulness — and the men who were appointed to each particular *curia* came together and thought out the business in hand.

Among the Greeks the *curiæ* are called *phratriæ* and

phatriæ — in other words *associations, brotherhoods,* Frag. IV
unions, guilds—from the fact that men of the same *phratry phrased* or revealed to one another their own intentions without scruple or fear. Hence fathers or kinsmen or teachers are *phrators,* — those who share in the same *phratry.* But possibly it was derived from the Roman word *frater,* which signifies "brother." (— Glossar. Nom. Labbæi.)

9. (And he named the people *populus.*) Hence in the Law Books the popular assembly has the name *popularia.* (Zonaras 7, 3 (vol. 11, p. 91, 17 and 18.) Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

10. She [i. e. Tarpeia] having come down for water was seized and brought to Tatius, and was induced to betray the fathers. (Zonaras, ib., p. 93, 15–17.)

11. It is far better for them [senate-houses?] to be established anew than having existed previously to be named over. (Mai, p. 137.)

12. ¶Romulus assumed a rather harsh attitude toward the senate and behaved toward it rather like a tyrant, and the hostages of the Veientes he returned[1] on his own responsibility and not by common consent, as was usually done. When he perceived them vexed at this he made a number of unpleasant remarks, and finally said: "I have chosen you, Fathers, not for the purpose of your ruling me, but that I might give directions to you." (Mai, p. 138.)

[What is said of Romulus in John of Antioch, Frag. 32 (Mueller) seems to have been drawn from the extant books of Dio. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.]

[1] Mai supplies the missing verb.

Frag. IV

13. Dio 1: "Thus by nature, doubtless, mankind will not endure to be ruled by what is similar and ordinary, partly through jealousy, partly through contempt of it."[1] (—Bekker, Anecd. p. 164, 15.)

14. Dio in 1: "What time he threw both body and soul into the balance, encountering danger in your behalf."[2] (Ib. p. 165, 27.)

Frag. V

1. Romulus had a crown and a sceptre with an eagle on the top and a white cloak reaching to the feet striped with purple embroideries from the shoulders to the feet: the name of the cloak was toga, i. e. "covering," from *tegere* the corresponding verb (this is the word the Romans use for "cover") and a purple shoe which was called *cothurnus,* as Cocceius says. (Io. Laur. Lydus, De Magis. Reip. Rom. 1, pp. 20–22.)

Therefore the words of Zonaras II, p. 96, 5, may be attributed to Dio: "(Romulus) also used red sandals."

2. "Shedding ashes from the hearth over the earth, they skillfully traced the prophesies with this wand, as they gazed at the sun and foretold the future. This wand Plutarch terms *lituos*, but *lituoi* is what Cocceianus Cassius Dio says." (Io. Tzetzes, Alleg. Iliadis 1, 28.)

3. ¶Numa dwelt on a hill called Quirinal, because he was a Sabine, but he had his official residence in the Sacred Way and used to spend his time near the temple

[1] This is probably a remark in regard to the quarrels of the Roman elders over the kingdom after the death of Romulus.— Compare Livy, I, 17.

[2] Perhaps a reference to the father of Horatius defending his son, or even to Romulus.

of Vesta and sometimes even remained on the spot. (Valesius, p. 569.) Frag. V

4. For since he understood well that the majority of mankind hold in contempt what is of like nature and consorts with them through a feeling that it is no better than themselves, but cultivate what is obscure and foreign as being superior, because they believe it divine, he dedicated a certain lot of land to the Muses . . . (Mai, p. 138.)

5. ¶The gods, as guardians of peace and justice, must be pure of murder; and not listen to or look at anything pertaining to divinity in a cursory or neglectful manner, but must exist enjoying leisure from other affairs and fixing their attention on the practice of piety as the most important act.—Zonaras, 7, 5 (vol. II, p. 100).

6. Dio, Book I: This, then, is what Numa thought" (Bekker, Anecd. p. 158, 23.)

7. Furthermore, also, that they became composed at that time through their own efforts, and took the sacred oath; after which they themselves continued at peace both with one another and with the outside tribes throughout the entire reign of Numa, and they seemed to have lighted upon him by divine guidance no less than in the case of Romulus. Men who know Sabine history best declare that he was born on the same day that Rome was founded. In this way, because of both of them the city quickly became strong and well adorned: for the one gave it practice in warfare,—of

Frag. V necessity, since it was but newly founded,—and the other taught it besides the art of peace, so that it was equally distinguished in each of these two particulars. (Valesius, p. 569.)

8. Dio the Roman says that Janus, an ancient hero, because of his entertainment of Saturn, received the knowledge of the future and of the past, and that on this account he was represented with two faces by the Romans. From him the month of January was named, and the beginning of the year comes in the same month. (Cedrenus, Vol. 1, p. 295, 10, Bekker.)

9. Book 1, Dio: — "For in some beginnings, when grasping at ends, the costs that we endure are not unwelcome." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 161, 3.)

10. (Numa) having lived for a period of three more than eighty years, and having been king forty and three years.— Zonaras, 7, 5. (Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

Frag. VI 1. Dio, Book 2: "that their[1] reputation would stand in the way of their[2] growth." (Bekker, Anecd., p. 139, 12.)

2. ¶ Neither of the two [Tullus or Mettius] sanctioned the removal, but both championed their own pretensions. For Tullus in view of the report about Romulus and the power they possessed was elated and so was Fufetius in view of the age of Alba and because it was the mother city not only of the Romans themselves but of many others; and both felt no little pride. For these reasons they withdrew from that dispute

1 Probably refers to the people of Alba.
2 Refers to the Romans.

but plunged into a new quarrel about the sovereignty: Frag. VI
for they saw that it was impossible[1] to keep them free from party feeling, dwelling with them in safety on fair terms; and this was due to the inherent disposition of men to quarrel with their equals, and to desire to rule others. Many claims also regarding this they preferred against each other, to see if by any means the one party would voluntarily concede either of the two favors to the other. They accomplished nothing, but formed a compact to struggle in her behalf. (Mai, p. 139.)

3. Dio, Book 2.—" and attacking them who expected no further danger." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 139, 15.)

4. ¶ Tullus was deemed most able against the enemy, but absolutely despised and neglected religion until, during the recurrence of a plague, he himself fell sick. Then, indeed, he paid the strictest regard to all the gods, and furthermore established the Salii Collini. (Valesius, p. 569.)

¶Marcius, comprehending how it is not sufficient for Frag. VII
men who wish to remain at peace to refrain from wrongdoing, and that refusing to molest others, without active measures, is not a means of safety, but the more one longs for it the more vulnerable does one become to the mass of mankind, changed his course. He saw that a desire for quiet was not a power for protection unless accompanied by equipment for war: he perceived also that delight in freedom from foreign

1 Van Herwerden's reading is the one adopted in this doubtful passage.

Frag. VII broils very quickly and very easily ruined men who were unduly enthusiastic over it. For this reason he thought that war was nobler and safer, both as a preparation and as forethought, than was peace, and so whatever he was unable to obtain from the Latins with their consent, and without harming them, he took away against their will by means of a military expedition. (Mai, p. 139.)

Frag. VIII ¶Tarquinius, by using wealth, knowledge, and great wit opportunely everywhere, put Marcius in such a frame of mind than he was enrolled by the latter among the patricians and among the senators, was often appointed general and was entrusted with the guardianship of his children and of the kingdom. He was no less agreeable to the rest, and consequently ruled them with their consent. The reason was that while he took all measures from which he might derive strength he did not lose his head, but though among the foremost humbled himself. Any laborious tasks he was willing to undertake openly in the place of others, but in pleasure he willingly made way for others while he himself obtained either nothing or but little, and that unnoticed. The responsibility for what went well he laid upon any one sooner than upon himself and placed the resulting advantages within the reach of the public for whoever desired them, but more unsatisfactory issues he never laid to the charge of any one else, nor attempted to divide the blame. Besides, he favored all the friends of Marcius individually both by deeds and by words. Money he spent without stint and was

ready to offer his services if any one wanted anything of him. He neither said nor did anything mean against any one, and did not fall into enmity with any one if he could help it. Furthermore, whatever benefits he received from any persons he always exaggerated, but unpleasant treatment he either did not notice at all or minimized it and regarded it is of very slight importance: not only did he refuse to take offensive measures in return, but he conferred kindnesses until he won the man over entirely. This gained him a certain reputation for cleverness, because he had mastered Marcius and all the latter's followers, but through subsequent events he caused the majority of men to be distrusted, either as being deceitful by nature or as changing their views according to their own influence and fortunes. (Valesius, p. 570.) Frag. VIII

Second Book of Dio: "As there was nothing in which they did not yield him obedience." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 164, 19.) Frag. IX

1. Dio, Book 2.—"Because his brother did not cooperate with him he secretly put him out of the way by poison through the agency of his wife." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 139, 17. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 9.) Frag. X

2. ¶ Tarquinius, when he had equipped himself sufficiently to reign over them even if they were unwilling, first arrested the most powerful members of the senate and next some of the rest, and put to death many publicly, when he could bring some real charge against them, and many besides secretly, while some he banished. Not merely because some of them loved

Frag. X Tullius more than him, nor because they had family, wealth, intelligence, and displayed conspicuous bravery and distinguished wisdom did he destroy them, out of jealousy and out of a suspicion likewise that their dissimilarity of character must force them to hate him, the while he defended himself against some and anticipated the attack of others; no, he slew all his bosom friends who had exerted themselves to help him get the kingship no less than the rest; for he thought that impelled by the audacity and fondness for revolution through which they had obtained dominion for him they might equally well give it to some one else. So he made away with the best part of the senate and of the knights and did not appoint to those orders any one at all in place of the men who had been destroyed: he understood that he was hated by the entire populace and was anxious to render the classes mentioned extremely weak through paucity of men. Yes, he even undertook to abolish the senate altogether, since he believed that every gathering of men and especially of chosen persons who had some pretence of prestige from antiquity, was most hostile to a tyrant. But as he was afraid that the multitude or else his body-guards themselves, in their capacity as citizens, might by reason of vexation at the change in government revolt, he refrained from doing this openly, but effected it in a conveniently outrageous way. He failed to introduce any new member into the senate to make up the loss, and to those who were left he communicated nothing of importance. He

called the senators together not to help him in the administration of any important business; no, this very act was to give them a proof of their littleness, and thereby to enable him to humiliate and show scorn for them. Most of his business he carried on by himself or with the aid of his sons, in the first place to the end that no one else should have any power, and secondly because he shrank from publishing matters involving his own wrongdoing. He was difficult of access and hard to accost, and showed such great haughtiness and brutality toward all alike that he received the nickname among them of "Proud." Among other decidedly tyrannical deeds of himself and his children might be mentioned the fact that he once had some citizens bound naked to some crosses in the the Forum and before the eyes of the citizens, and had them shamefully beaten to death with rods. This punishment, invented by him at that time, has often been inflicted. (Valesius, p. 573.) Frag. X

3. Dio in 2nd Book: "Publicly and by arrangement reviling his father in many unusual ways on the ground that he was a tyrant and was forsworn." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 155, 1.)

4. The Sibyl about whom Lycophron is now speaking was the Cumæan, who died in the time of Tarquin the Proud and left behind three or nine of her prophetic books. Of these the Romans bought either one or three, after the Sibyl's servant had destroyed the rest by fire because they would not give her as much gold as she wanted. This they did later and bought

Frag. X

up either one that was left over or else three, and gave them to Marcus Acilius to keep. Him they cast alive into the skin of an ox and put to death because he had given them to be copied: but for the book or books they dug a hole in the Forum and buried them along along with a chest. (Ioannes Tzetzes, scholia on Lycophr. 1279.)

5. ¶ Lucius Junius, a son of Tarquinius's sister, in terror after the king had killed his father and had moreover taken his property away from him feigned madness, to the end that he might possibly survive. For he well understood that every person possessed of sense, especially when he is of a distinguished family, becomes an object of suspicion to tyrants. And when once he had started on this plan he acted it out with great precision, and for that reason was called Brutus. This is the name that the Latins gave to idiots. Sent along with Titus and Arruns as if he were a kind of plaything he carried a staff as a votive offering, he said, to the gods, though it had no great value so far as anyone could see. (Mai, p. 139.)

6. Dio in Book 2: "After that he was found in the Pythian god's temple." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 139, 21.)

7. ¶ They made sport of the gift [i. e. the staff] of Brutus, and when to the enquiry of the ambassadors as to who should succeed to the kingdom of their father the oracle replied that the first to kiss his mother should hold dominion over the Romans, he kissed the earth, pretending to have fallen down by accident, for

he regarded her as the mother of all mankind. (Mai, p. 140.) Frag. X

8. ¶ Brutus overthrew the Tarquins for the following reason. During the siege of Ardea the children of Tarquin were one day dining with Brutus and Collatinus, since these two were of their own age and relatives; and they fell into a discussion and finally into a dispute about the virtue of their wives,— each one giving the preference to his own spouse. And, as all the women happened to be absent from the camp, they decided straightaway that night, before they could be announced, to take horse and ride away to all of them simultaneously. This they did, and found all engaged in a carousal except Lucretia, wife of Collatinus, whom they discovered at work on wool. This fact about her becoming noised abroad led Sextus to desire to outrage her. Perchance he even felt some love for her, since she was of surpassing beauty; still it was rather her reputation than her body that he desired to ruin. He watched for an opportunity when Collatinus was among the Rutuli, hurried to Collatia, and coming by night to her house as that of a kinswoman obtained both food and lodging. At first he tried to persuade her to grant her favors to him, but as he could not succeed he attempted force. When he found he could make no progress by this means either, he devised a novel plan by which in the most unexpected way he compelled her to submit voluntarily to be debauched. To his declaration that he would cut her throat she paid no attention, and his statement that he would make

Frag. X away with one of the servants she listened to in contempt. When, however, he threatened to lay the body of the servant beside her and spread the report that he had found them sleeping together and killed them, he was no longer to be resisted: and she, fearing it might be believed that this had so happened, chose to yield to him and die after giving an account of the affair rather than lose her good name in perishing at once. For this reason she did not refuse to commit adultery, but afterward she made ready a dagger beneath the pillow and sent for her husband and her father. As soon as they had come she shed many tears, then spoke with a sigh: "Father, I utter your name because I have disgraced it less than my husband's. It is no honorable deed I have done this last night, but Sextus forced me, threatening to kill me and a slave together and pretend he had found me sleeping with the man. This threat compelled me to sin, to prevent you from believing that such a thing had taken place. And I, because I am a woman, will treat my case as becomes me: but do you, if you are men and care for your wives and for your children, avenge me, free yourselves, and show the tyrants what manner of creatures you are and what manner of woman they have outraged." Having spoken to this effect she did not wait for any reply but immediately drawing the dagger from its hiding place stabbed herself. (Valesius, p. 574.)

9. Dio, Second Book: "And he[1] went outside of

[1] A reference to Sarquinius Superbus.

Roman territory making frequent trials of neighboring peoples." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 164, 25.) Frag. X

1. ¶ All crowds of people judge measures according to the men who direct them, and of whatever sort they ascertain the men to be, they believe that the measures are of the same sort. (Mai, p. 140.)

2. Every one prefers the untried to the well known, attaching great hope to the uncertain in comparison with what has already gained his hatred. (Ib.) Frag. XI

3. All changes are very dangerous, and especially do those in governments work the greatest and most numerous evils to both individuals and state. Sensible men, therefore, decide to remain under the same forms continually, even if they be not very good, rather than by changing to have now one, now another, and be continually wandering. (Ib.)

4. Dio, 2nd Book: "When he had learned this he accordingly both came to them the following day . . . . ." (Bekker, Anecd., p. 178, 20.)

5. In 3rd Book of Dio: "Whose father also ruled you blamelessly." (Ib., p. 120, 24.)

6. Dio's 3rd Book: "Of the fact that he loves you, you could get no greater proof than his eagerness to live in your midst and his action in having his possessions long since brought here." (Ib., p. 139, 26, and p. 164, 28.)

7. Dio's 3rd Book: "How would it pay any one to do this?" (Ib., p. 155, 14.)

8. Dio's 3rd Book: "As Romulus also enjoined upon us." (Ib., p. 139, 29.)

Frag. XI 9. ¶ Every person comes to possess wishes and desires according to his fortune and whatever his circumstances be, of like nature are also the opinions he acquires. (Mai, p. 141.)

10. ¶ The business of kingship, more than any other, demands not merely virtue, but also great understanding and intelligence, and it is not possible without these qualities for the man who takes hold of it to show moderation. Many, for example, as if raised unexpectedly to some great height, have not endured their elevation, but startled from their senses have fallen and made failures of themselves and have shattered all the interests of their subjects. (Mai, ib.)

11. With regard to the future form a judgment from what they have done, but do not be deceived by what they as suppliants falsely pretend. Unholy deeds proceed in every case from a man's real purpose, but any one may concoct creditable phrases. Hence judge from what a man has done, not from what he says he will do. (Mai, ib.)

12. 3rd Book of Dio: "It is done not merely by the actual men who rule them, but also by those who share the power with those rulers." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 130, 23, and p. 164, 32.)

In the preceding fragment we have, apparently, some comment of Dio himself on the change in the Roman government (from monarchy to republic) together with scraps of two speeches,— namely, that of the envoys of Tarquinius to the Roman people, and that of Brutus in reply.

Frag. XII 1. ¶ Valerius, the colleague of Brutus, although he had proved himself the most democratic of men came near being murdered in short order by the multitude:

they suspected him, in fact, of being eager to become sole sovereign. They would have slain him, indeed, had he not quickly anticipated their action by courting their favor. He entered the assembly and bent the rods which he had formerly used straight, and took away the surrounding axes that were bound in with them. After he had in this way assumed an attitude of humility, he kept a sad countenance for some time and shed tears: and when he at last managed to utter a sound, he spoke in a low fearful voice with a suggestion of a quaver. [The general subject is speechmaking.] (Mai, p. 141.) Frag. XII

2. On account of whom (plur.) also [Collatinus] was enraged. Consequently Brutus so incited the populace against him that they came near slaying him on the spot. They did not quite do this, however, but compelled him to resign without delay. They chose as colleague to the consul in his place Publius Valerius, who had the additional title of Poplicola. This appellation translated into Greek signifies "friend of the people" or "most democratic." (Zonaras, 7, 12. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

¶ The temple of Jupiter was dedicated by Horatius, as determined by lot, although Valerius made the declaration that his son was dead, and arranged to have this news brought to him during the very performance of his sacred office, with the purpose that Horatius under the blow of the misfortune and because in general it was impious for any one in grief to fulfill the duties of priest, should yield to him the dedication of Frag. XIII

Frag. XIII the structure. The other did not refuse credence to the report—for it was noised abroad by many trustworthy persons—yet he did not surrender his ministry: on the contrary, after bidding some men to leave unburied the body of his son, as if it were a stranger's, in order that he might seem unconcerned regarding the rites due to it, he then performed all the necessary ceremonies. (Valesius, p. 577.)

Frag. XIV 1. (Tarquinius contined to supplicate Klara Porsina.) (Zonaras, 7, 12. Cp. Tzetz. Hist. 6, 201. Plutarch, Poplic. 16, has "Lara Porsina.")

2. Dio in 4th Book: "But they overran the Roman territory and harried everything up to the wall." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 152, 3 and 1.)

3. Larta Porsenna, an Etruscan, or, perhaps, Klara Porsenna, was proceeding against Rome with a great army. But Mucius, a noble Roman soldier, after equipping himself in arms and dress of Etruscans then started to spy upon them, wishing to kill Porsenna. Beside the latter at that time was sitting his secretary, who in the Etruscan tongue was called Clusinus; and Mucius, doubtful which might be the king, killed Clusinus instead of the king. The man was arrested, and when Porsenna asked him: "Why in the world did you do this thing? What injury had you received from him?" the other cried out: "I happen to be not Etruscan but Roman; and three hundred others of like mind with me who are now hunting thee to slay thee." This he had spoken falsely; and, with his right hand thrust

into the fire, he gazed on Porsenna as though another were suffering: and when the prince enquired: "Why do you look fixedly upon us?" he said: "Reflecting how I erred in failing to slay thee and in thy stead killed one whom I thought Porsenna." And when Porsenna exclaimed: "You shall now become my friend!" Mucius rejoined: "If thou becom'st a Roman." Porsenna admiring the man for his uprightness becomes a friend to the Romans and checks the tide of battle. (Tzetzes, Chiliades, VI, 201–223.) Frag. XIV

(Cp. Scholia on John Tzetzes's Letters in Cramer's Anecd. Oxon., vol. III, p. 360, 30: "Clusinus was the name of Porsenna's secretary, according to what Dio says"; and Zonaras, 7, 12: "Drawing his sword he killed his secretary, who was sitting beside him and was similarly arrayed."

4. Dio's 4th Book: "And he[1] presented to the maiden[2] both arms (or so some say) and a horse." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 133, 8.)

5. After this the Tarquins endeavored on several occasions, by forming alliances with tribes bordering on Roman dominions, to recover the kingdom; but they were all destroyed in the battles save the sire, who, moreover, was called Superbus (or, as a Greek would say, Proud). Subsequently he found his way to Cyme of Opicia and there died. Thus the careers of the Tarquins reached a conclusion. And after their expulsion from the kingdom consuls, as has been stated,

1 Porsenna.
2 Clœlia.

Frag. XIV were chosen by the Romans. One of these was Publius Valerius, who became consul four times,— the one to whom also the name Poplicola was applied. (Zonaras, 7, 12 sq. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

6. And the management of the funds they assigned to others in order that the men holding the consular office might not possess the great influence that would spring from their having the revenues in their power. Now for the first time "stewards" began to be created, and they called them *quæstors*. These in the first place tried capital cases, from which fact they have obtained this title,— on account of their *questionings* and on account of their search for truth as the result of *questionings*. But later they acquired also management of the public funds and received the additional name of Stewards (ταμίαι). After a time the courts were delivered over to different persons, while these officials were managers of the funds. (Zonaras 7, 13. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes*, XIV.)

7. Dio's 4th Book: "And they provided them[1] with separate titles besides in general making very different provision for them in the different cases." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 133, 16.)

8. Dio in 5th Book: "The lords filling them with hope on certain points." (Ib. p. 140, 10.)

9. Dio in 5th Book: "With this accordingly he honored him." (Ib. p. 175, 19.)

Frag. XV ¶ To a large extent success consists in planning secretly, acting at the opportune moment, following one's

[1] Probably a reference to the quæstors.

own counsel somewhat, and in having no chance to fall back upon any one else, but being obliged to take upon one's self the responsibility for the issue, however it turns out.[1] (Mai, p. 142.) Frag. XV

1. They had recourse to civil strife. And the reason is plain. Those whose money gave them influence desired to surpass their inferiors in all respects as though they were their sovereigns, and the weaker citizens, sure of their own equal rights, were unwilling to obey them even in some small point. The one class, insatiate of freedom, sought to enjoy the property of the other; and this other, uncontrolled in its pride of place, to enjoy the fruits of the former's labors. So it was that they sundered their former relations, wherein they were wont harmoniously to assist each other with mutual profit, and no longer made distinctions between foreign and native races. Indeed, both disdained moderation, and the one class set its heart upon an extreme of dominion, the other upon an extreme of resistance to voluntary servitude; consequently they missed the results accomplished by their previous allied efforts and inflicted many striking injuries, partly in defence against each other's movements and partly by way of anticipating them. More than all the rest of mankind they were at variance save in the midst of particularly threatening dangers that they incurred in the course of successive wars,— wars due chiefly to their own dissensions; and for the sake of the respite many prominent men on several occasions brought on these Frag. XVI

1 Fragment XV may perhaps be a comment on dictatorships.

Frag. XVI conflicts purposely. This, then, was the beginning of their suffering more harm from each other than from outside nations. And the complexion of their difficulties inspires me to pronounce that it was impossible that they should be deprived of either their power or their sway, unless they should lose it through their own contentions. (Mai, ib.)

2. They were especially irritated that the senators were not of the same mind after obtaining something from them as they were while requesting it, but after making them numbers of great promises while in the midst of danger failed to perform the slightest one of them when safety had been secured. (Mai, p. 143.)

3. So to the end that they might not fight in a compact mass, but each division struggle separately for its own position and so become easier to handle, they divided the army.[1] (Ib.)

4. ¶ The populace, as soon as Valerius the dictator became a private citizen, began a most bitter contest, going so far even as to overturn the government. The well-to-do classes insisted, in the case of debts, upon the very letter of the agreement, refusing to abate one iota of it, and so they both failed to secure its fulfillment and came to be deprived of many other advantages; they had failed to recognize the fact that an extreme of poverty is the heaviest of curses and that the desperation which results from it is, especially if shared by a large number of persons, very difficult to combat. This is why not a few politicians voluntarily

[1] Cp. Livy, II, 30.

choose the course which is expedient in preference to Frag. XVI
that which is absolutely just. Justice is often worsted in an encounter with human nature and sometimes suffers total extinction, whereas expediency, by parting with a mere fragment of justice, preserves the greater portion of it intact.

Now the cause of most of the troubles that the Romans had lay in the unyielding attitude adopted by the more powerful class toward its inferiors. Many remedies were afforded them against delays in payment of debts, one of which was that in case it happened that several persons had been lending to anybody, they had authority to divide his body piecemeal according to the proportionate amounts that he was owing. Yet, however much this principle had been declared legal, still it had surely never been put into practice. For how could a nation have proceeded to such lengths of cruelty when it frequently granted to those convicted of some crime a refuge for their preservation and allowed such as were thrust from the cliffs of the Capitoline to live in case they should survive the experience? (Mai, p. 143. Cp. Zonaras 7, 14.)

5. ¶ Those who were owing debts took possession of a certain hill and having placed one Gaius at their head proceeded to secure their food from the country as from hostile territory, thereby demonstrating that the laws were weaker than arms, and justice than their desperation. The senators being in terror both that this party might become more estranged and that the neighboring tribes in view of the crisis might join in an

Frag. XVI attack upon them proposed terms to the rebels offering everything that they hoped might please them. The seceders at first were for brazening it out, but were brought to reason in a remarkable way. When they kept up a series of disorderly shouts, Agrippa, one of the envoys, begged them to hearken to a fable, and having obtained their consent spoke as follows. Once all the Members of Man began a contention against the Belly, saying that they worked and toiled without food or drink, being at the beck and call of the Belly in everything, whereas it endured no labor and alone got its fill of nourishment. And finally they voted that the Hands should no longer convey aught to the Mouth nor the latter receive anything, to the end that the Belly might so far as possible come to lack both food and drink and so perish. Now when this measure was determined and put into execution, at first the entire body began to wither away and next it collapsed and gave out. Accordingly, the members through their own evil state grew conscious that the Belly was the salvation of them and restored to it its nourishment.

On hearing this the multitude comprehended that the abundance of the prosperous also supports the condition of the poor; therefore they showed greater mildness and accepted a reconciliation on being granted a release from their debts and from seizures therefor. This then, was voted by the senate. (Mai, p. 144. Cp. Zonaras 7, 14.) The account of John of Antioch, frag. 46 (Müller, fr. hist gr. IV, p. 556) regarding this secession of the plebs seems to have been taken from intact

books of Dio. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV, p. 44, note 1; also G. Sotiriadis, Zur Kritik des Johannes von Antiochia, Supplem. annal. philol. vol. XVI, p. 50.) Frag. XVI

6. And it seemed to be most inconsistent with human conditions, and to many others also, some willingly, some unwillingly. . . .

¶ Whenever many men gathered in a compact body seek their own advantage by violence, for the time being they have some equitable agreement and display boldness, but later they become separated and are punished on various pretexts. (Mai, p. 146. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 15.)

7. Through the tendency, natural to most persons, to differ with their fellows in office (it is always difficult for a number of men to attain harmony, especially in a position of any influence) — through this natural tendency, then, all their power was dissipated and torn to shreds. None of their resolutions was valid in case even one of them opposed it. They had originally received their office for no other purpose than to resist such as were oppressing their fellow-citizens, and thus he who tried to prevent any measure from being carried into effect was sure to prove stronger than those who supported it. (Mai, ib. Cp. Zonaras 7, 15.)

1. For it is not easy for a man either to be strong at all points or to possess excellence in both departments, — war and peace, — at once. Those who are physically strong are, as a rule, weak-minded and success that has come in unstinted measure generally does not luxuriate equally well everywhere. This explains why after Frag. XVII

Frag. XVII having first been exalted by the citizens to the foremost rank he was not much later exiled by them, and how it was that after making the city of the Volsci a slave to his country he with their aid brought his own land in turn into an extremity of danger. (Mai, p. 146. Cp. Zonaras 7, 16.)

B. C. 491 (*a. u.* 263) 2. ¶ The same man wished to be made prætor, and upon failing to secure the office became angry at the populace; and in his displeasure at the great influence of the tribunes he employed greater frankness in speaking to that body than was attempted by others whose deeds entitled them to the same rank as himself. A severe famine occurring at the same time that a town Norba needed colonizing, the multitude censured the powerful classes on both these points, maintaining that they were being deprived of food and were being purposely delivered into the hands of enemies for manifest destruction. Whenever persons come to suspect each other, they take amiss everything even that is done in their behalf, and yield wholly to their belligerent instincts. Coriolanus had invariably evinced contempt for the people, and after grain had been brought in from many sources (most of it sent as a gift from princes in Sicily) he would not allow them to receive allotments of it as they were petitioning. Accordingly, the tribunes, whose functions he was especially eager to abolish, brought him to trial before the populace on a charge of aiming at tyranny and drove him into exile. It availed nothing that all his peers exclaimed and expressed their consternation at the fact that

tribunes dared to pass such sentences upon *their* order. So on being expelled he betook himself, raging at his treatment, to the Volsci, though they had been his bitterest foes. His valor, of which they had had a taste, and the wrath that he cherished toward his fellow-citizens gave him reason to expect that they would receive him gladly, since they might hope, thanks to him, to inflict upon the Romans injuries equal to what they had endured, or even greater. When one has suffered particular damage at the hands of any party, one is strongly inclined to believe in the possibility of benefit from the same party in case it is willing and also able to confer favors. (Mai, p. 147. Cp. Zonaras 7, 16.) B. C. 491 (*a. u.* 263)

3. For he was very angry that they, who were incurring danger for their own country would not even under these conditions withdraw from the possessions of others. When, accordingly, this news also was brought, the men did not cease any the more from factional strife. They were, indeed, so bitterly at variance that they could be reconciled not even by dangers. But the women, Volumnia the wife of Coriolanus and Veturia his mother, gathering a company of the other most eminent ladies visited him in camp and took his children with them; and they caused him to end the war not only without requiring the submission of the country, but without even demanding restoration from exile. For he admitted them at once as soon as he learned they were there, and granted them a conversation, the course of which was as follows.

B. C. 491
(*a. u.* 263)

While the rest wept without speaking Veturia began: "Why are you surprised, my child? Why are you startled? We are not deserters, but the country has sent to you, if you should yield, your mother and wife and children, if otherwise, your spoil; hence, if even now you still are angry, kill us first. Why do you weep? Why turn away? Can you fail to know how we have just ceased lamenting the affairs of state, in order that we might see you? Be reconciled to us, then, and retain no longer your anger against your citizens, friends, temples, tombs; do not come rushing down into the city with hostile wrath nor take by storm your native land in which you were born, were reared, and became Coriolanus, bearer of this great name. Yield to me, my child, and send me not hence without result, unless you would see me dead by own hand."

At the end of this speech she sighed aloud, and tearing open her clothing showed her breasts, and touching her abdomen exclaimed: "See, my child, this brought you forth, these reared you up." When she had said this, his wife and the children and the rest of the women joined in the lament, so that he too was cast into grief. Recovering himself at length with difficulty he embraced his mother and at the same time kissing her replied: "Mother, I yield to you. Yours is the victory, and let the other men, too, bestow their gratitude for this upon you. For I can not endure even to see them, who after receiving such great benefits at my hands have treated me in such a way. Hence I will never even enter the city. Do you keep the country

instead of me, since you have so wished it, and I will take myself out of the way of you all." B. C. 491 (*a. u.* 263)

Having spoken thus he withdrew. For through fear of the multitude and shame before his peers, in that he had made an expedition against them at all he would not accept even the safe return offered him, but retired among the Volsci, and there, either as the result of a plot or from old age, died. (Mai, p. 148. Zonaras, 7, 16. Cp. John Tzetzes, Letters, 6, p. 9, 16.)

4. Dio Cocceianus himself and numberless others who have set forth the deeds of the Romans, tell the story of this Marcus Coriolanus. This Marcus, as he was formerly called and later Gnæus, had along with these the name of Coriolanus. When the Romans were warring against the city of Coriolanus [*sic*], and had all turned to flight at full speed, the man himself turned toward the hostile city and finding it open alone set fire to it. As the flames rose brilliantly he mounted his horse and with great force fell upon the rear of the barbarians, who were bringing headlong flight upon the Romans. They wheeled about and when they saw the fire consuming the city, thinking it was sacked they fled in another direction. He, having saved the Romans and sacked the city, which we have already said was called Coriolanus, received, in addition to his former names Marcus and Gnæus, the title of Coriolanus, from the rout. But (the usual treatment that jealousy accords to benefactors) after a little in the course of reflections they fine the man. The man excessively afflicted with most just wrath leaves his wife, his

B. C. 491 (*a. u.* 263) mother, and his country, and goes to the Corioli, and they receive the man. Then after that they arrayed themselves against the Romans. And had not his spouse and mother at the breaking out of that war run and torn apart their tunics and stood about him naked, — Veturia and Volumnia were their names,— and checked him with difficulty from the battle against the Romans, Rome would have made a resolve to honor benefactors. But brought to a halt by the prayers of his mother and of his spouse he stopped the war against the Romans, and he himself leaving behind the Corioli and the Romans hurried to another land, smitten by sorrow. (Tzetzes, Hist. 6, 527-560. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes,* XIV.)

5. I pass over mention of the noble Marcus Coriolanus, and with Marcus himself also Marcus Corvinus; of whom the one, having sacked unaided a city named Coriolanus and burned it down, although the entire army of the Romans had been routed, was called Coriolanus, though otherwise termed Marcus. (Tzetzes, Hist. 3, 856-861.)

Frag. XVIII B. C. 486 (*a. u.* 268) ¶Cassius after benefiting the Romans was put to death by that very people. So that thereby it is made plain that there is no element deserving confidence in multitudes. On the contrary they destroy men who are altogether devoted to them no less than men guilty of the greatest wrongs. With respect to the interest of the moment on various occasions they deem those great who are the cause of benefits to them, but when they have profited to the full by such men's services

they no longer regard them as having any nearer claims than bitterest foes. For Cassius, although he indulged them, they killed because of the very matters on which he prided himself: and it is manifest that he perished through envy and not as a result of some injustice committed. (Mai, p. 150.) B. C. 486 (*a. u.* 268)

1. For the men from time to time in power when they became unable to restrain them by any other method stirred up purposely wars after wars in order that they might be kept busy attending to those conflicts and not disturb themselves about the land. (Mai, ib. Zonaras 7, 17.) Frag. XIX

2. At any rate they were so inflamed with rage by each of the two as to promise with an oath victory to their generals: with regard to the immediate attack they thought themselves actually lords of fortune. (Mai, p. 150.)

3. ¶ It is natural for the majority of the human race to quarrel with any opposing force even beyond what is to its own advantage and upon those who yield to bestow a benefit in turn even beyond its power. (Mai, p. 151.)

1. ¶ The Fabii, who on the basis of birth and wealth made pretensions equal with the noblest, very quickly indeed saw that they were dejected. For when persons involve themselves in many undertakings that are at the same time hard to manage, they can discover no device for confronting the multitude and array of dangers, and give up as hopeless quite easy projects: after which their sober judgments and, contrary to Frag. XX B. C. 477 (*a. u.* 277)

B. C. 477 (a. u. 277) what one would expect, their very opinions cause them to lose heart and they voluntarily abandon matters in hand with the idea that their labor will be but vain; finally they surrender themselves to unforseen dispensations of Heaven and await whatever Chance may bring. (Mai, p. 151. Zonaras 7, 17.)

2. ¶ The Fabii, three hundred and six in number, were killed, by the Etruscans. Thus the arrogance which arises from confidence in valor is ofttimes ruined by its very boldness, and the boastfulness which comes from good fortune runs mad and suffers a complete reverse. (Mai, ib. Zonaras 7, 17.)

3. For whom (plur.) the Romans grieved, both in private and with public demonstrations, to a greater degree than the number of the lost would seem to warrant. That number was not small, especially since it was composed entirely of patricians, but they further felt, when they stopped to consider the reputation and the resolute spirit of these men that all their strength had perished. For this reason they inscribed among the accursed days that one on which they had been destroyed and put under the ban the gates through which they had marched out, so that no magistrate might pass through them. And they condemned Titus Menenius the prætor,— it was in his year that the disaster took place,— when he was later accused before the people of not having assisted the unfortunates and of having been subsequently defeated in battle. (Valesius, p. 578.)

Frag. XXI 1. ¶ The patricians openly took scarcely any retalia-

tory measures, except in a few cases, where they ad- Frag. XXI
jured some one of the gods, but secretly slaughtered a number of the boldest spirits. Nine tribunes on one occasion were delivered to the flames by the populace. This did not, however, restrain the rest: on the contrary, those who in turn held the tribuneship after that occurrence were rather filled with hope in the matter of their own quarrels than with fear as a result of the fate of their predecessors. Hence, so far from being calmed, they were even the more emboldened by those very proceedings. For they put forward the torture of the former tribunes as a justification of the vengeance they would take really in their own behalf; and they got great pleasure out of the idea that they might possibly, contrary to expectation, survive without harm. The consequence was that some of the patricians, being unable to accomplish anything in the other way, transferred themselves to the ranks of the populace: they thought its humble condition far preferable, considered in the light of their desire for the tribunician power, to the weakness of their own ornamental titles,— especially so because many held the office a second and third and even greater number of times in succession, although there was a prohibition against any one's taking the position twice. (Mai, p. 152. Zonaras 7, 17.)

2. ¶ The populace was incited to this course by the patricians themselves. For the policy which the latter pursued with an eye to their own advantage, that of always having some wars in readiness for them, so

Frag. XXI that the people might be compelled by the dangers from without to practice moderation,—this policy, I say, only rendered the people bolder. By refusing to go on a campaign unless they obtained in each instance the objects of their striving and by contending listlessly whenever they did take the field, they accomplished all that they desired. Meanwhile, as a matter of fact, not a few of the neighboring tribes, relying on the dissension of their foes more than on their own power, kept revolting. (Mai, ib. Zonaras 7, 17.)

Frag. XXII B. C. 458 (*a. u.* 296) 1. ¶ The Æqui after capturing Tusculum and conquering Marcus[1] Minucius became so proud that, in the case of the Roman ambassadors whom the latter people sent to chide them regarding the seizure of the place, they made no answer at all to the censure but after designating by the mouth of their general, Clœlius Gracchus, a certain oak, bade them speak to it, if they desired aught. (Ursinus, p. 373. Zonaras 7, 17.)

2. That the Romans on learning that Minucius with some followers had been intercepted in a low-lying, bushy place elected as dictator against the enemy Lucius Quintius, in spite of the fact that he was a poor man and at the time was engaged in tilling with his own hands the little piece of ground which was his sole possession: for in general he was the peer in valor of the foremost and was distinguished by his wise moderation; though he did let his hair grow in curls, from which practice he received the nickname of Cincinnatus. (Valesius, p. 578. Zonaras 7, 17.)

[1] Other accounts give his name as *Lucius* or *Quintus*.

2. ¶ Affairs of state and camp alike were thrown into confusion. For the men under arms in their zealous eagerness that no success should attend those who held the power voluntarily surrendered both public and private interests. The other side, too, took no pleasure in the death of their own members at the hands of opponents, but themselves likewise destroyed in some convenient manner many of the most active persons who espoused the cause of the populace. As a result no small contention arose between them. (Mai, p. 153. Zonaras, 7, 18.) B. C. 449 (*a. u.* 305)

3. For they[1] reached such a pitch of emulation and next of jealous rivalry of one another that they no longer, as the custom had been, all held office as one body, but each of them individually in turn; and the consequence was by no means beneficial. Since each one of them had in view his own profit and not the public weal and was more willing that the State should be injured, if it so happened, than that his colleagues should obtain credit, many unfortunate occurrences took place. (Mai, ib.)

4. ¶ Democracy consists not in all winning absolutely the same prizes, but in every man's obtaining his deserts.[2] (Mai, p. 154.)

1. . . . . to have happened as the law of triumphs enjoins, about which Dio Cocceianus writes. And if it seems to you an irksome thing to delve into books of ancient writers, at all events I will explain cursorily, Frag. XXIII

1 This must mean the "military tribunes with consular powers."
2 Seemingly an excerpt from a speech of one of the optimates, though possibly a remark by Dio himself.

Frag. XXIII as best I may, the entertainments pertaining to the triumph. They cause the celebrator of the triumph to ascend a car, smear his face with earth of Sinope or cinnabar (representing blood) to screen his blushes, fasten armlets on his arms, and put a laurel wreath and a branch of laurel in his right hand. Upon his head they also place a crown of some kind of wood having inscribed upon it his exploits or his experiences. A public slave, standing in the back part of the chariot holds up the crown, saying in his ear: "See also what comes after." Bells and a whip dangle from the pole of the chariot. Next he runs thrice about the place in a circle, mounts the stairs on his knees and there lays aside the garlands. After that he departs home, accompanied by musicians. (Tzetzes Epist. 107, p. 86.)

[Therefore the following words of Zonaras (7, 21) correspond nearly with those of Dio, concerning the popular anger against Camillus on account of his triumph (according to Plutarch's Camillus, Chap. 7).—Editor.]

The celebration of the triumphal festivities, which they called *thriambos,* was of somewhat the following nature. When any great success, worthy of a triumph, had been gained, the general was immediately saluted as imperator by the soldiers, and he would bind twigs of laurel upon the rods and deliver them to the runners to carry, who announced the victory to the city. On arriving home he would assemble the senate and ask to have the triumph voted him. And if he obtained a vote from the senate and from the people, his title of im-

perator was confirmed. If he still held the office in Frag. XXIII
the course of which he happened to be victorious, he continued to enjoy it while celebrating the festival; but if the term of his office had expired, he received some other name connected with it, since it was forbidden a private individual to hold a triumph. Arrayed in the triumphal dress he took armlets, and with a laurel crown upon his head and holding a branch in his right hand he called together the people. After praising his comrades of the campaign he presented some both publicly and privately with money: he honored them also with decorations, and upon some he bestowed armlets and spears without the iron; crowns, too, he gave to some of gold and to others of silver, bearing the name of each man and the representation of his particular feat. For example, either a man had been first to mount a wall and the crown bore the figure of a wall, or he had captured some point by storm, and a likeness of that particular place had been made. A man might have won a battle at sea and the crown had been adorned with ships, or one might have won a cavalry fight and some equestrian figure had been represented. He who had rescued a citizen from battle or other peril, or from a siege, had the greatest praise and would receive a crown fashioned of oak, which was esteemed as far more honorable than all, both the silver and the gold. And these rewards would be given not only to men singly, as each had shown his prowess, but were also bestowed upon cohorts and whole armies. Much of the spoils

Frag. XXIII was likewise assigned to the sharers in the campaign. Some have been known to extend their distributions even to the entire populace and have gone to expense for the festival and obtained public appropriations: if anything was left over, they would spend it for temples, porticos or for some public work.

After these ceremonies the triumphator ascended his chariot. Now the chariot did not resemble one used in games or in war, but had been made in the shape of a round tower. And he would not be alone in the chariot, but if he had children or relatives he would make the girls and the infant male children get up beside him in it and place those who were grown upon the horses, outriggers as well as the yoke-pair. If these were many, they would accompany the procession on chargers, riding along beside the triumphator. None of the rest rode, but all went on foot wearing laurel wreaths. A public servant, however, rode also upon the chariot itself holding over him the crown made of precious stones set in gold and kept saying to him " Look behind! ", the " behind " meaning naturally " Look ahead at the ensuing years of life, and do not be elated or puffed up by your present fortune." Both a bell and a whip were fastened to the chariot, signifying that it was possible for him to meet misfortune as well, to the extent of being disgraced or condemned to death. It was customary for those who had been condemned to die for any offence to wear a bell, to the end that no one should approach them as they walked along and so be affected with pollution.

Thus arrayed they entered the city, having at the Frag. XXIII
head of the procession the spoils and trophies and in images the captured forts displayed, cities and mountains and rivers, lakes, seas,—everything that they had taken. If one day sufficed for the exhibition of these things in procession, well and good: otherwise, the celebration was held during a second and a third. When these adjuncts had gone on their way the triumphator reached the Roman Forum and after commanding that some of the captives be led to prison and put to death he rode up to the Capitol. There, when he had fulfilled certain rites and had brought offerings and had dined in the buildings on the hill, toward evening he departed homeward, accompanied by flutes and pipes.

Such were the triumphs in old times. Factions and powerful cliques attempted very frequently revolutionary movements on those occasions.

All the matters pertaining to the triumphal, the curule chair the letter contains. What need to write again? How after anointing with cinnabar or else Sinopian earth the man who held a triumph they put him on a chariot and placed upon his head a golden crown bearing plainly marked all he had accomplished: and in the man's hand they lay a laurel sprig; armlets they clasp about his arms: they crown all who had gained distinction with crowns made out of silver material inscribed with the feats of daring; and how upon the chariot a public slave stands behind him holding up the crown and saying in his ear: "see also

Frag. XXIII what comes after" — all things important the letter contains. (Tzetzes, Hist. 13, 41–54.)

B. C. 395 (*a. u.* 359) 2. ¶ The Romans after fighting many battles against the Falisci,[1] and after many sufferings and achievements as well, despised their ancestral rites and took up with foreign ones in the idea that the latter would suffice them. Human nature is for some reason accustomed in trouble to scorn what is usual even though it be divine, and to admire the untried. Thinking, as men do, that they are not helped by it at the present, they expect no benefit in the future, but from what is strange they hope to accomplish whatever they may wish, by means of its novelty. (Mai, p. 153.)

B. C. 393 (*a. u.* 361) 3. ¶ The Romans, who were besieging the city of the Falisci would have consumed much time encamped before it, had not an incident of the following nature occurred. A school teacher of the place who instructed a number of children of good family, either under the influence of anger or through hope of gain led them all outside the wall, supposedly for some different purpose from his real one. They had so great an abundance of courage that they followed him even then. And he took them to Camillus, saying that in their persons he surrendered to him the whole city: for the inhabitants would no longer resist them when those dearest to them were held prisoners. However, he

[1] Perhaps Dio wrote *Fidenates* or *Veientes* (Livy, IV, 32), and *Falisci* is due to the copyist, although, to be sure, there were wars with the last named (Livy, IV, 18). Whether the transference of Juno from Veii to Rome (Livy, V, 22) or the lectisternia just established about this time (Livy, V, 13) constitutes the topic discussed is a matter respecting which scholars differ.

failed to accomplish aught; for Camillus, filled with a sense of the conduct proper for Romans and also of the liability to failure of human plans, would not agree to take them by treachery: instead, he bound the traitor's hands behind his back and delivered him to the children themselves to lead home again. B. C. 393 (*a. u.* 361)

After this episode the Falisci held out no longer, but in spite of the fact that they were securely entrenched and had ample resources to continue the war nevertheless came to terms voluntarily. They felt sure it would be no ordinary friendship that they would enjoy at the hands of one, whom, as an enemy even, they had found so just. (Valesius, p. 578. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 22.)

4. Accordingly Camillus became on this account an object of even greater jealousy to the citizens, and he was indicted by the tribunes on the charge of not having benefited the public treasury with the plunder of the Veii; and before the trial he voluntarily withdrew. (Valesius, ib. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 22.)

5. In Dio's 7th Book: "When he had ended his term of office they indicted him and imposed a money fine, not bringing him into danger of his life."[1] (Bekker, Anecd. p. 146, 21.)

6. To such a degree did not only the populace nor all those who were somewhat jealous of his reputation merely, but his best friends and his relatives, too, feel envy toward him that they did not even attempt to hide it. When he asked some of them for support in

1 Boissevain believes that this fragment does not refer to Camillus, and that the number of the Book is possibly a corruption. He would locate it earlier.

B. C. 393 (*a. u.* 361) his case, and others to deposit the money for his release, they refused to assist him in regard to the vote but simply promised, if he were convicted, to estimate the proper money value and to help him pay the amount of the fine. This led him to take an oath in anger that the city should have need of him; and he went over to the Rutuli before accusation was brought against him." (Mai, p. 154. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 22.)

Frag. XXIV B. C. 391 (*a. u.* 363) 1. ¶ The cause of the Gallic expedition was this. The Clusini had endured hard treatment in the war from the Gauls and fled for refuge to the Romans, having considerable hope that they could obtain certainly some little help in that quarter, from the fact that they had not taken sides with the people of Veii, though of the same race. When the Romans failed to vote them aid, but sent ambassadors to the Gauls and negotiated peace for them, they came very near accepting it (it was offered them in return for a part of the land); however, they attacked the barbarians after the conference and took the Roman envoys into battle along with them. The Gauls, vexed at seeing them on the opposite side, at first sent men to Rome, preferring charges against the envoys. Since, however, no punishment was visited upon the latter, but they were all, on the contrary, appointed consular tribunes, they were filled with wrath—being naturally quick to anger—and, as they held the Clusini in contempt, started for Rome. (Ursinus, p. 373. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 23.)

[1] Very likely the copyist erred here. The sense requires "before sentence was passed upon him."

2. ¶ The Romans after withstanding the inroads of the Gauls had no time to recover breath, but went immediately from their march into battle, just as they were, and lost. Panic-stricken by the unexpectedness of the invaders' hostile expedition, by their numbers, their physical dimensions, and their voices uttering some foreign and terrifying sound they forgot their training in military science and after that lost possession of their valor. A good comprehension contributes very largely to bravery, because when present it confirms the strength of a man's resolution and when lacking destroys the same more thoroughly by far, than if such a thing had never existed at all. Many persons without experience often carry things through by the violence of their spirit, but those who fail of the discipline which they have learned lose also their strength of purpose. This caused the defeat of the Romans. (Mai, p. 154. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 23.) B. C. 364 (*a. u.* 390)

3. Coclius Horatius was by race a Roman. He, when on one occasion the army of the Romans had been routed, so that there was danger of their opponents occupying Rome, alone withstood them all at the wooden bridge, while Marcus cut it down behind Minucius. When it had been cut down, Coclius too crossed the Tiber, having saved himself and Rome by the cutting of the bridge. Yet, as he swam, he might have been struck by a spear of the enemy. To him the senate presents lands (as a reward for his excellent bravery) as much as he could mark out in a day with cattle fastened to a plow. He was called Coclius in the

B. C. 364 (*a. u.* 390) Roman tongue because he had lost one of his eyes before he fought. (Tzetzes, Hist. 3, 818-830. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

4. ¶ The Romans who were on the Capitol under siege had no hope of safety unless from heavenly powers. So scrupulously did they observe the mandates of religion, although in every extremity of evil, that when it was requisite for one of the sacred rites to be performed by the pontifices in another part of the city Cæso[1] Fabius, who exercised the office of priest, descended for the purpose from the Capitol after receiving his charge, as he had been accustomed to do, and passing through the enemy performed the customary ceremony and returned the same day. I am led to admire the barbarians on the one hand because either on account of the gods or his bravery they spared him: and far more do I feel admiration for the man himself for two reasons, that he dared to descend alone among the enemy, and that when he might have withdrawn to some place of safety he refused and instead voluntarily returned up the Capitol again to a danger that he foresaw: he understood that they hesitated to abandon the spot which was the only part of their country they still held but saw at the same time that no matter how much they desired to escape it was impossible to do so by reason of the multitude of the besiegers. (Valesius, p. 581.)

5. ¶ Camillus, being urged to let the leadership be entrusted to him, would not allow it because he was an

[1] Livy and Valerius Maximus give his name as *Gaius*.

exile and could not take the position according to time-honored usage. He showed himself so law-abiding and exact a man that in so great a danger to his native land he made precedent a matter of earnest thought and did not think it right to hand down to posterity an example of lawlessness. (Valesius, p. 582. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 23.) B. C. 364 (*a. u.* 390)

6. When Rome had been sacked by the Gauls, Brennus being at the head of that expedition of theirs, as the Gauls were on the point of capturing the Capitol by ascending secretly to the Acropolis at night, a great outcry of geese arose in that quarter; and one Marcus Manlius roused from sleep saw the enemy creeping up, and by striking some with his oblong shield and slaying others with his sword he repulsed them all and saved the Romans. For this they gave him the title of Capitolinus, and in honor of the geese they have doorkeepers as guards in the palace in remembrance of their watch at that time, just as earlier the Greeks in Athens called Pelargikon Geraneia (Crane-ry) from such creatures. (Tzetzes, His. 830-842. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 23.)

1. ¶ The populace passed sentence against Capitolinus, his house was razed to the ground, his money confiscated, and his name and even likeness, if such anywhere existed, were erased and destroyed. At the present day, too, all these punishments, except the razing to the ground, are visited upon those who conspire against the commonwealth. They gave judgment also that no patrician should dwell upon the Frag. XXV B. C. 384 (*a. u.* 370)

B. C. 384 (*a. u.* 370) height because Capitolinus happened to have had his house there. And his kinsmen among the Manlii prohibited any one of their number from being named Marcus, since that appellation had been his.

Capitolinus at any rate underwent a great reversal, both in his character and in his fortune. Having made a specialty of warfare he did not understand how to remain at peace; the Capitol he had once saved he occupied for the purpose of esablishing a tyranny; although a patrician he became the prey of a house-servant; and whereas he was deemed a warrior, he was arrested after the manner of a slave and hurled down the very rock from which he had repulsed the Gauls. (Valesius, p. 582. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 24.)

2. ¶ Capitolinus was thrown headlong down the rock by the Romans. So true it is that nothing in the affairs of men,— generally speaking,— remains at it was; and success, in particular, leads many people on into catastrophes equally serious. It raises their hopes, makes them continually strive after like or greater results and, if they fail, casts them into just the opposite condition. (Mai, p. 155. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 24.)

3. This Marcus Manlius, who was once termed also Capitolinus, and fell through seeking the tyranny, when about to be put to death by vote of all the jurors was saved by their looking just then at the Capitol, where he himself had performed famous deeds of valor,— until the one who spoke against him, perceiving the cause, transferred the assembly to another court-house from which the Capitol could not be seen

at all and so a remembrance spring up of his trophies. B. C. 384 (*a. u.* 370) Then they kill him. But on the other hand, even so, through the whole period the populace of Rome wore black, recompensing the graces of his valor and the inimitable manner of his distinguished behavior. (Tzetzes, Hist. 3, 843-855. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 24.)

1. ¶ Camillus made a campaign against the Tuscu- Frag. XXVI B. C. 381 lans, but thanks to the astonishing attitude that they (*a. u.* 373) adopted they suffered no harm. For just as if they themselves were guilty of no offence and the Romans entertained no anger toward them, but were either coming to them as friends to friends or else marching through their territory against some other tribes, they changed none of their accustomed habits and were not in the least disturbed: instead, all without exception remaining in their places, at their occupations and at their other work just as in time of peace, received the army within their borders, gave them hospitable gifts, and in other ways honored them like friends. Consequently the Romans so far from doing them harm enrolled them subsequently among the citizens. (Valesius, p. 582.)

2. In Dio's 7th Book: "Tusculans did not raise their Frag. XXVII hands against him." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 123, 32.) B. C. 376 (*a. u.* 378)

1. ¶ The wife of Rufus, while he was military tribune and engaged in public service in the Forum was visited by her sister.[1] When the husband arrived and the lictor, according to some ancient custom, knocked

[1] The gap existing from the word "Forum" to the end of the sentence is supplied by Bekker's conjecture.

B. C. 376 (*a. u.* 378) at the door, the visitor was alarmed at this having never previously had any such experience and was startled. She was consequently the subject of hearty laughter on the part of her sister and the rest alike and she was made a butt for jests as one not at home in an official atmosphere because her husband had never proved his capacity in any position of authority. She took it terribly to heart, as women, from their littleness of soul, usually do, and would not give up her resentment until she had thrown all the city in an uproar. Thus small accidental events become, in some cases, the cause of many great evils, when a person receives them with jealousy and envy. (Mai, p. 155. Zonaras, 7, 24.)

2. ¶ In the midst of evils expectation of rescue has power to persuade one to trust even in what is beyond reason. (Mai, p. 156.)

3. For by their disputes they kept constantly enfeebling in one way or another the good order of their government; consequently, all these objects so to speak for which they were formerly accustomed to wage the greatest wars they gained in time — not without factional quarrels, to be sure, but still with small difficulty. (Mai, ib.)

B. C. 368 (*a. u.* 386) 4. ¶ Publius,[1] when the citizens of Rome were quarreling with one another, nearly reconciled them. For he chose as master of the horse Licinius Stolo, who was merely one of the populace.[2] This innovation

[1] This is Publius Manlius, the dictator (Livy, VI, 39).
[2] This last clause is a conjecture by Reimar.

grieved the patricians, but conciliated the rest so much that they no longer laid claim to the consulship for the following year, but allowed the consular tribunes to be chosen. As a result of this they in turn yielded some points one to the other, and perhaps would have made peace with each other had not Stolo the tribune made such utterance as that they should not drink unless they could eat and so persuaded them to relinquish nothing, but to perform as inevitable duties all that they had taken in hand. (Valesius, p. 585.) B. C. 368 (*a. u.* 386)

1. Dio Cassius Cocceianus, the compiler of Roman history, states that as a result of the wrath of Heaven a fissure opened in the ground round about Rome and would not close. An oracular utterance having been obtained to the effect that the fissure would close if they should throw into it the mightiest possession of the Romans, one Curtius, a knight of noble birth, when no one else was able to understand the oracle, himself interpreted it to mean a horse and man together. Straightway he mounted his horse and, just as he was, dashed heroically forward and passed down into that frightful pit. No sooner had he rushed down the incline than the fissure closed; and the rest of the Romans from above scattered flowers. From this event the name of Curtius was applied also to a cellar. (Io. Tzetzes, Scholia for the Interpretation of Homer's Iliad, p. 136, 17, Cp. Zonaras, 7, 25.) Frag. XXVIII B. C. 362 (*a. u.* 392)

2. There is no mortal creature either better or stronger than man. Do you not see that all the rest go bent downwards and look forever toward the earth

B. C. 362 (*a. u.* 392) and accomplish nothing save what is closely connected with eating and the propagation of their species? So they have been condemned to these pursuits even by Nature herself. We alone gaze upwards and associate with heaven itself and despise those things that are on the earth, while we dwell with the gods themselves, believing them to be similar to us inasmuch as we are both their offspring and creations, not earthly but heavenly: for which reason we paint and fashion those very beings according to our forms. For, if one may speak somewhat boldly, man is naught else than a god with mortal body, and a god naught else than a man without body and consequently immortal. That is why we surpass all other creatures. And there is nothing afoot which we do not enslave, overtaking it by speed or subduing it by force or catching it by some artifice, nor yet aught that lives in the water or travels the air: nay, even of these two classes, we pull the former up from the depths without seeing them and drag the latter down from the sky without reaching them. (Mai, p. 532. Zonaras, 7, 25.)

Frag. XXIV ¶ Dio says: "Wherefore, although not accustomed to indulgence in digressions, I have taken pains to make mention of it and have stated in addition the Olympiad, in order that when most men forget the date of the migration,[1] it may, from the precaution mentioned, become less doubtful." (Mai, p. 156.)

Frag. XXX B. C. 353 (*a. u.* 401) ¶ The Agyllæans, when they ascertained that the Romans wished to make war on them, despatched am-

[1] The migration of Alexander (?) See Livy, VIII, 3, 6.

bassadors to Rome before any vote was taken, and obtained peace on surrender of half their territory. (Ursinus, p. 374.) B. C. 353 (*a. u.* 401)

Marcus Corvinus received the name of Corvinus because when once engaged with a barbarian in single combat, he had a savage crow as his ally in the battle, that flew at the eyes of the barbarian until this Marcus killed him at that time. (Tzetzes, Hist. 3, 862-866. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 25.) Frag. XXXI B. C. 349 (*a. u.* 405)

1. These proposals and a few others of similar nature they put forward not because they expected to carry any of them into effect,— for they, if anybody, understood the purposes of the Romans,— but in order that failing to obtain their requests they might secure an excuse for complaints, on the ground that wrong had been done them. (Mai, p. 156.) Frag. XXXII

2. Dio in Book 7: "And for this reason I shall execute you, in order that even as you obtain the prize for your prowess, so you may receive the penalty for your disobedience."[1] (Bekker, Anecd. p. 133, 19. Zonaras, 7, 26.) B. C. 340 (*a. u.* 414)

3. The statement is made by Douris, Diodorus and Dio that when the Samnites, Etruscans and other nations were warring against the Romans, Decius, a Roman consul and associated with Torquatus in command of the troops, gave himself to be slain, and of the opposite side there were slaughtered a hundred thousand that very day.[2] (Io. Tzetzes, on Lycophr. 1378. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

1 Words of Torquatus to his son.
2 At the battle of Sentinum (295 B. C.).

B. C. 340 (*a. u.* 414)

4. ¶ Dio says: "I am surprised that his (Decius's) death should have set the battle right again, should have defeated the side that was winning and have given victory to the men who were getting worsted: I can not even comprehend what brought about the result. When I reflect what some have accomplished,— for we know that many such chances have befallen many persons before,— I can not disbelieve the tradition: but when I come to calculate the causes of it, I fall into a great dilemma. How can you believe that from such a sacrifice of one man so great a multitude of human beings were brought over at once to safety and to victory? Well, the truth of the matter and the causes that are responsible shall be left to others to investigate. (Mai, p. 157. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

5. It was evident to every one that they had considered the outcome of the event[1] and had ranged themselves on the victorious side. Torquatus did not, however, question them about it for fear they might revolt, since the affair of the Latins was still a sore point with them. He was not harsh in every case nor in most matters the sort of man he had shown himself toward his son: on the contrary, he was admitted to be good at planning and good in warfare, so that it was said by the citizens and by their adversaries alike that he held success in war subservient to him, and that if he had been leader of the Latins, he would certainly have made them conquer. (Mai, p. 157, and Valesius, p. 585.)

[1] The word in the MS. has nearly faded out. Perhaps we should read "battle."

6. ¶ The Romans, although vexed at Torquatus on account of his son to such an extent that deeds remarkable for their cold-blooded indifference[1] are called "Manliana," after him, and angry furthermore that he had celebrated the triumph in spite of the death of that youth, in spite of the death of his colleague, nevertheless when another war threatened them elected him again to a fourth consulship. He, however, refused to hold their chief office longer, and renounced it, declaring: "I could not endure you nor you me." (Mai, p. 157. Zonaras, 7, 26.) B. C. 340 (*a. u.* 414)

7. ¶ The Romans by way of bringing the Latins in turn to a condition of friendliness, granted them citienship so that they secured equal privileges with themselves. Those rights which they would not share with that people when it threatened war and for which they underwent so many dangers, they voluntarily voted to it now that they conquered. Thus they requited some for their allegiance and others because they had taken no steps of a revolutionary character. (Mai, p. 158.) B. C. 338 (*a. u.* 416)

8. ¶ With reference to the inhabitants of Privernum the Romans made no enquiry, asking them what they deserved to suffer for such conduct. The others answered boldly: "Whatever is suitable for men who are free and desire so to continue." To the next question of the consul: "And what will you do if you obtain peace?" they replied: "If we are granted it on B. C. 328 (*a. u.* 426)

1 The phrase after "deeds" is supplied from the general sense. The MS. shows a superlative ending of adjective form, but the root portion of the word is lost.

B. C. 328 (*a. u.* 426) fairly moderate terms, we will cease from disturbance, but if unendurable burdens are placed upon us, we will fight." Admiring their spirit they not only made a much more favorable truce with them than with the rest . . . . (Mai, p. 158.)

Frag. XXXIII B. C. 325 (*a. u.* 429) 1. [From the address of the father of Rullus.] Be well assured that penalties most unfitting in such cases, while they destroy the culprits under sentence, who might have been made better, are of no avail in correcting the rest. Human nature refuses to leave its regular course for any threats. Some pressing fear or violence of audacity together with courage born of inexperience and rashness sprung from opportunity, or some other combination of circumstances such as often occurs unexpectedly in the careers of many persons leads men to do wrong. And these men are of two classes,— such as do not even think of the punishments but heedless of them rush into the business before them, and such as esteem them of no moment in comparison with the attainment of the ends for which they are striving.

Consistent humanity, however, can produce an effect quite the opposite of that just now mentioned. Through the influence of a seasonable pardon the criminals frequently change their ways, especially when they have acted from brave and not from wicked motives, from ambition and not from baseness. For it should be noted that a reasonable humanity is a mighty force for subduing and correcting a noble soul. As for the rest, they are, without resistance, brought

into a proper frame of mind by the sight of the rescue. Every one would rather obey than be forced, and prefers voluntary to compulsory observance of the law. He who submits to a measure works for it as if it were his own invention, but what is imposed upon him he rejects as unfitting for a freeman. Furthermore it is the part of the highest virtue and power alike not to kill a man,— this is often done by the wickedest and weakest men,— but to spare him and to preserve him; yet no one of us is at liberty to do that without your consent. B. C. 325 (*a. u.* 429)

It is my wish at length to cease from speaking. What little spirit I have is weary, my voice is giving way, tears check my utterance and fear closes my mouth. But I am at a loss how to close. For my suffering, appearing to me in no doubtful light, does not allow me (unless you decide otherwise)[1] to be silent, but compels me, as if the safety of my child were going to be in accord with whatever I say last, to speak even further as it were in prayers. (Mai, p. 159.)

2. The name and form of the office with which he was invested he shrank from changing, and when he was intending to spare Rullus,— for he observed the zeal of the populace,— he wished to resist him somewhat before granting the favor and to alter the attitude of the young men, so as to have his pardon come unexpectedly. Therefore he contracted his face, and darting a harsh frowning look at the populace, he raised his voice and spoke. The talking ceased, but still they

1 A clause that in the MS. has faded out is represented here by Boissevain's conjecture.

B. C. 325 (*a. u.* 429) were not quiet: instead, as generally happens in such a case, what with groaning over his fate and whispering one to another, in spite of their not uttering a single word they gave the impression that they desired the rescue of the cavalry commander. Papirius seeing this, in fear of their possibly taking hostile action, relaxed the extremely domineering manner which he had assumed (for purposes of their correction) in an unusual degree, and by showing moderation in the rest of his actions brought them once more to friendship and enthusiasm for him, so that they proved themselves men when they met their opponents. (Mai, p. 160. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

3. ¶ The Samnites after their defeat at the hands of the Romans, made proposals for truce to the Romans in the city. They sent them all the Roman captives that they held, together with the property of a man named Papius,[1] who was esteemed among the foremost of his race and bore the entire responsibility for the war; his bones, since he anticipated them in committing suicide, they scattered abroad. Yet they did not obtain their peace; for they were regarded as untrustworthy and had the name of making truces according to events merely for the purpose of cheating any power that conquered them: hence they not only failed to obtain terms, but even brought a relentless war upon themselves. The Romans while accepting their prisoners voted to make war upon them without announcement. (Ursinus, p. 374. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

[1] *Papius Brutulus.*

4. Among the many events of human history that might give one cause for wonder must certainly be reckoned what occurred at this time. The Romans, who were so extremely arrogant as to vote that they would not again receive a herald from the Samnites in the matter of peace and hoped moreover to capture them all at the first blow, succumbed to a terrible disaster and incurred disgrace as never before; the others, who to begin with were badly frightened and thought the refusal to make peace a great calamity, seized their camp and entire force, and sent them all under the yoke. So great a reverse of fortune did they suffer. (Mai, p. 161. Zonaras, 7, 26.) B. C. 321 (*a. u.* 433)

5. Benefits lie rather within the actual choice of men and are not brought about by necessity, or by ignorance, or anger, or deceit, or anything of the sort, but are performed voluntarily by a willing and eager condition of spirit. And for this reason it is proper to pity, admonish, instruct those who commit any error and to admire, love, reward those who do right. Whenever men act in both of these two ways, it is decidedly more befitting our characters to remember their better than their less correct deeds.[1] (Mai, p. 535.)

6. ¶ Quarrels are checked by kindness. The greater the pitch of enmity to which a man has come when he unexpectedly obtains safety instead of severity, the more readily does he hasten voluntarily to abandon the quarrel and to acknowledge gladly the influence of kindness. As in a random host of persons at vari-

1 Sections 5, 6, and 7 appear to come from various speeches delivered at the Caudine Forks; section 8, however, is from the speech of Herennius Pontius.

B. C. 321 (*a. u.* 433) ance from divers causes those who have passed from friendship to enmity hate each other with the more intense hatred, so in a random host of persons kindly treated do those who receive this considerate treatment after a state of strife love their benefactors the more. Romans, accordingly, are very anxious to surpass in war and at the same time they honor virtue; for this reason, compelled in both regards by their nobility of spirit, they verily earn the right to surpass, since they take pains to recompense fair treatment fairly, and even beyond its value. (Mai, p. 161.)

7. For it is right to pride one's self upon requiting those who have done some wrong, but to feel more highly elated over recompensing such as have conferred some benefit. (Mai, p. 536.)

8. ¶ All men are by nature so constituted as to grieve more over any insults offered them than they rejoice over benefits conferred upon them: therefore they show hostility to persons who have injured them with less effort than they require for aiding in return persons who have shown them kindness; hence also they make no account, when their own advantage is concerned, of the ill reputation they will gain by not taking a friendly attitude toward their preserver, but indulge a spirit of wrath even when such behavior runs counter to their own interest.

Such was the advice he gave them out of his own inherent good sense and experience acquired in a long life, not looking to the gratification of the moment but to the possible regret of the future. (Mai, p. 162.)

9. ¶ The people of Capua, when the Romans after

their defeat arrived in that city, were guilty of no bitter speech or outrageous act, but on the contrary gave them both food and horses and received them like victors. They pitied in their misfortune the men whom they would have not wished to see conquer on account of the treatment those same persons had formerly accorded them. When the Romans heard of the event they were altogether possessed by doubt whether to be pleased at the survival of their soldiers or whether to continue displeased. When they thought of the depth of the disgrace their grief was extreme; for they deemed it unworthy of them to to have met with defeat, and especially at the hands of the Samnites, so that they could wish that all had perished; when they stopped to reflect, however, that if such a calamity had befallen them all the rest as well would have incurred danger, they were not sorry to hear that the men had been saved. (Mai, p. 162. Zonaras, 7, 26.) B. C. 321 (*a. u.* 433)

10. ¶ It is requisite and blameless for all men to plan for their own safety, and if they get into any danger to do anything whatsoever so as to be preserved. (Mai, p. 163.)

11. ¶ Pardon is granted both by gods and by men to such as have committed any act involuntarily. (Ib. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

12. Dio in Book 8: "I both take to myself the crime and admit the perjury." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 165, 13.)

13. Dio in Book 8: "For in all such matters he was quite all-sufficient to himself."[1] (Ib. p. 124, 1.)

[1] This is thought to refer to L. Papirius Cursor or possibly to Q. Fabius Maximus. Cp. Livy, X, 26.

B. C. 321 (*a. u.* 433)

14. ¶ The Samnites, seeing that neither were the oaths observed by them nor gratitude for favors manifested in any other way, and that few instead of many were surrendered, thus making void the oaths, became terribly angry and loudly called upon the gods in respect to some of these matters: moreover, they brought the pledges to their attention, demanded the captives, and ordered them to pass naked under the same yoke where through pity they had been released, in order that by experience they might learn to abide by terms which had been once agreed upon. The men that had been surrendered they dismissed, either because they did not think it right to destroy guiltless persons or because they wished to fasten the perjury upon the populace and not through the punishment of a few men to absolve the rest. This they did, hoping as a result to secure decent treatment. (Mai, p. 163. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

15. ¶ The Romans so far from being grateful to the Samnites for the preservation of the surrendered soldiers, actually behaved as if they had in this suffered some outrage. They showed anger in their conduct of the war, and, being victorious, treated the Samnites in the same way. For the justice of the battle-field does not fit the ordinary definition of the word, and it is not inevitable that the party which has been wronged should conquer: instead, war, in its absolute sway, adjusts everything to the advantage of the victor, often causing something that is the reverse of justice to go under that name. (Mai, p. 163. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

16. ¶ The Romans after vanquishing the Samnites

sent the captives in their turn under the yoke, regarding as satisfactory to their honor a repayment of similar disgrace. So did Fortune for both parties in the briefest time reverse her position and by treating the Samnites to the same humiliation at the hands of their outraged foes show clearly that here, too, she was all-supreme. (Mai, p. 164. Zonaras, 7, 26.) B. C. 321 (*a. u.* 433)

17. ¶ Papirius made a campaign against the Samnites and having reduced them to a state of siege entrenched himself before them. At this time some one reproached him with excessive use of wine, whereupon he replied: "That I am not intoxicated is clear to every one from the fact that I am up at the peep of dawn and lie down to rest latest of all. But on account of having public affairs on my mind day and night alike, and not being able to obtain sleep easily, I take a little wine to lull me to rest." (Mai, ib.) B. C. 319 (*a. u.* 435)

18. ¶ The same man one day while making the rounds of the garrison became angry on not finding the general from Prænestе at his post. He summoned him and bade him hand the axe to the lictor. Alarm and consternation at this was evident on the part of the general, and his fear sufficed. Papirius harmed him no further but merely gave orders to the lictor to cut off some roots growing beside the tents, so that they should not injure passers-by. (Mai, ib.)

19. ¶ In numerous cases instances of good fortune are not at all constant, but lead many aside into paths of carelessness and ruin them.[1] (Mai, p. 165.)

[1] Cp. Livy, IX, 18, 8.

B. C. 310 (*a. u.* 444)

20. ¶ The men of the city put forward Papirius as dictator, and fearing that Rullus might be unwilling to name him on account of his own experiences while master of the horse, they sent for him and begged him to put the common weal before a private grudge. And he gave the envoys, indeed, no response, but when night had come (according to ancient custom it was quite necessary that the dictator be appointed at night), he named Papirius and secured by this act the greatest renown. (Valesius, p. 585.)

B. C. 296 (*a. u.* 458)

21. ¶ Appius the Blind and Volumnius became at variance each with the other: and it was owing to this that Volumnius once, when Appius charged him in the assembly with showing no gratitude for the progress he had made in wisdom through Appius's instruction, answered that he had indeed grown wiser and was likewise ready to admit it, but that Appius had not advanced at all in matters pertaining to war. (Mai, p. 165.)

22. ¶ As regards the prophecy the multitude was not capable for the time being of either believing or disbelieving him.[1] It neither wished to hope for everything, inasmuch as it did not desire to see everything fulfilled, nor did it dare to refuse belief in all points inasmuch as it wished to be victorious, but was placed in an extremely painful position, as it were between confusion and fear. As each single event occurred they applied the interpretation to it according to the actual result, and the man himself undertook to assume

[1] I. e., Manius, an Etrusean.

some reputation for skill with regard to the foreknowledge of the unseen. (Mai, p. 165. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 1.) B. C. 296 (*a. u.* 458)

23. ¶ The Samnites, enraged at what occurred and deeming it highly disgraceful to be defeated, resorted to extreme daring and folly with the intention of either conquering or being utterly destroyed. They assembled all their men that were of military age, threatening with death all that should remain at home, and they bound themselves with frightful oaths to the effect that no man should flee from the contest but should slaughter any person that might undertake to do so. (Mai, ib. Zonaras, 8, 1.) B. C. 293 (*a. u.* 461)

24. ¶ The Romans on hearing that their consul Fabius had been worsted in the war became terribly angry and summoned him to stand trial. A vehement denunciation of the man was made before the people, — and, indeed, he was depressed by the injury to his father's reputation even more than by the complaints, — and no opportunity was afforded the object of the attack for reply. Nor did the elder man make a set defence of his son, but by enumerating his own services and those of his ancestors, and by promising furthermore that his son would do nothing unworthy of them, he abated the people's wrath, esepecially since he urged his son's youth. Moreover, he joined him at once in the campaign, overthrew the Samnites in battle, though they were elated by their victory, and captured their camp and great booty. The Romans therefore extolled him and ordered that his son also should command for the future with consular powers, and still em- B. C. 292 (*a. u.* 462)

B. C. 292 (*a. u.* 462) ploy his father as lieutenant. The latter managed and arranged everything for him, sparing his old age not a whit, and the allied forces readily assisted the father in remembrance of his old-time deeds. He made it clear, however, that he was not executing the business on his own responsibility, but he associated with his son as if actually in the capacity of counselor and under-officer, while he moderated his temperament and assigned to him the glory of the exploits. (Valesius, p. 585. Zonaras, 8, 1.)

B. C. 291 (*a. u.* 463) 25. ¶ The soldiers with Junius who took the field along with Postumius fell sick on the way, and thought that their trouble was due to the felling of the grove. He was recalled for these reasons, but showed contempt for them even at this juncture, declaring that the senate was not his master but that he was master of the senate. . . . . Envio . . . . and the . men much . ambition . . . [Words of Postumius Megillus: Cp. Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. 16, 16]. (Mai, p. 167.)

Frag. XXXIV ¶ Gaius Fabricius in most respects was like Rufinus, but in incorruptibility far superior. He was very firm against bribes, and on that account did not please Rufinus, but was always at variance with him. Yet the latter chose Fabricius, thinking that he was a most proper person to meet the requirements of the war, and making his personal enmity of little account in comparison with the advantage of the commonwealth.

[1] Page 134 of the Vatican MS., from the eighth line on, is in such bad condition that even Mai, in his day, declared it lost labor to try to decipher it. The present reading is according to Boissevain.

Frag. XXXIV

As a result he gained some reputation for having shown himself above jealousy, which springs up in the hearts of many of the best men by reason of emulation. Since he was a thorough patriot and did not practice virtue for a show he thought it a matter of indifference whether the State were benefited by him or through some other man, even if that man should be an opponent. (Valesius, p. 586.)

Frag. XXXV

¶ Cornelius Fabricius, when asked why he had entrusted the business to his foe, ...[1] the general excellence of Rufins and added that to be spoiled by the citizen is preferable to being bought and sold by the enemy. [This anecdote concerns Fabricius Luscinus, mentioned by Cicero, de orat. 2, 66, 268; Quintilian 12, 1, 43; Gellius 4, 48.]

Frag. XXXVI B. C. 290 (*a. u.* 464)

¶ Curius, in defence of his conduct in the popular assembly, said that he had acquired so much land . . . . . and had hunted for so many men . . . . country . . . [The person referred to is Manius Curius Dentatus. Cp. Auct. de Viris. Illustr., c. 33.

¶ After Niebuhr, Rh. Mus. 1828, p. 579.]

Frag. XXXVII

< ¶ When the tribunes moved an annulment of debts, the law was often proposed without avail, since the lenders were by no means willing to accept it and the tribunes granted the nobles the choice of either putting this law to the vote or following that of Stolo, by which they were to reckon the previous interest toward the principal and receive the remainder in

1 See Niebuhr, Rh. Mus., 1828, p. 600, or *Kleine Schriften*, 2, p. 241.

Frag. XXXVII

triennial payments.<[1] And for the time being the weaker party, dreading lest it might lose all, paid court to them, and the wealthier class, encouraged to think it would not be compelled to adopt either course, maintained a hostile attitude. But when the revolted[2] party proceeded to press matters somewhat, both sides changed their positions. The debtors were no longer satisfied with either plan, and the nobles thought themselves lucky if they should not be deprived of their principal. Hence the dispute was not decided immediately, but subsequently they prolonged their rivalry in a spirit of contentiousness, and did not act at all in their usual character. Finally the people made peace in spite of the fact that the nobles were unwilling to remit much more than they had originally expected; however, the more they beheld their creditors yielding, the more were they emboldened, as if they were successful by a kind of right; and consequently they regarded the various concessions almost as matters of course and strove for yet more, using as a stepping-stone to that end the fact that they had already obtained something. (Mai, p. 167. Zonaras, 8, 2.)

Frag. XXXVIII

¶ When the opposite side[3] saw also another general approaching, they ceased to heed the common interests of their force but each cast about to secure his individual safety, as a common practice of those who form a union uncemented by kindred blood, or who make a

1 The opening portion of this fragment is based largely on conjectures of Niebuhr (Rhein. Mus., 1828, p. 579ff.)

2 A doubtful reading.

3 The Tuscans, Senones, and Gauls appear to be meant.

campaign without common grievances, or who have not one commander. While good fortune attends them their views are harmonious, but in disaster each one sees before him only matters of individual concern. They betook themselves to flight as soon as it had grown dark, without having communicated to one another their intention. In a body they thought it would be impossible for them to force their way out or for their defection to pass unnoticed, but if they should leave each on his own account and, as they believed, alone, they would more easily escape. And so, to his own party,— each one of them . . . . they will think that accomplishing their flight with the greatest security . . . . . (Mai, p. 167.) Frag. XXXVIII

1. The Romans had learned that the Tarentini and some others were making ready to war against them, and had despatched Fabricius as an envoy to the allied cities to prevent them from committing any revolutionary act: but they had him arrested, and by sending men to the Etruscans and Umbrians and Gauls they caused a number of them also to secede, some immediately and some a little later. (Ursinus, p. 375. Zonaras, 8, 2 (Vol. II, p. 174, 4 sq.) Frag. XXXIX B. C. 283 (*a. u.* 471)

2. ¶ The Tarentini, although they had themselves initiated the war, nevertheless were sheltered from fear. For the Romans, who understood what they were doing, pretended not to know it on account of temporary embarrassments. Hereupon the Tarentini, thinking that they either could mock[1] at Rome or were

[1] Verb adopted from Boissevain's conjecture διασιλλοῦν (cp. the same word in Book Fifty-nine, chapter 25).

B. C. 283 (*a. u.* 471) entirely unobserved because they were receiving no complaints behaved still more insolently and involved the Romans even contrary to their own wishes in a war. This proved the saying that even good fortune, when a disproportionately large portion of it falls to the lot of any individuals, becomes the cause of disaster to them; it entices them on to a state of frenzy (since moderation refuses to cohabit with vanity) and ruins their greatest interests. So these Tarentini, too, after rising to an unexampled height of prosperity in turn met with a misfortune that was an equivalent return for their wantonness. (Mai, p. 168 and 536.)

B. C. 282 (*a. u.* 472) 3. Dio in Book 9: "Lucius Valerius,[1] who was admiral of the Romans and had been despatched on some errand by them." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 158, 25. Zonaras, 8, 2.)

4. ¶ Lucius was despatched by the Romans to Tarentum. Now the Tarentini were celebrating the Dionysia, and sitting gorged with wine in the theatre of an afternoon suspected that he was sailing against them as an enemy. Immediately in a passion and partly under the influence of their intoxication they set sail in turn: so without any show of force on his part or the slightest expectation of any hostile act they attacked and sent to the bottom both him and many others. When the Romans heard of this they naturally were angry, but did not choose to take the field against Tarentum at once. However, they despatched envoys in order not to seem to have passed over the affair in

[1] Appian (Samnite Wars, VII, 1) gives the second name as Cornelius.

silence and by that means render them more impudent. B. C. 282 (a. u. 472) But the Tarentini, so far from receiving them decently or even sending them back with an answer in any way suitable, at once, before so much as granting them an audience, made sport of their dress and general appearance. It was the city garb, which we use in the Forum; and this the envoys had put on, either for the sake of stateliness or else through fear, thinking that this at least would cause the foreigners to respect their position. Bands of revelers accordingly jeered at them,— they were still celebrating the festival, which, although they were at no time noted for temperate behavior, rendered them still more wanton,— and finally a man planted himself in the road of Postumius and, with a forward inclination, threw him down and soiled his clothing. At this an uproar arose from all the rest, who praised the fellow as if he had performed some remarkable deed, and they sang many scurrilous anapæsts upon the Romans, accompanied by applause and capering steps. But Postumius cried: "Laugh, laugh while you may! For long will be the period of your weeping, when you shall wash this garment clean with your blood." (Ursinus, p. 375. Mai, 168. Zonaras, 8, 2.)

5. Hearing this they ceased their jests but could accomplish nothing towards obtaining pardon for their insult: however, they took to themselves credit for a kindness in the fact that they let the ambassadors withdraw unharmed. (Mai, ib.)

6. ¶ Meton, failing to persuade the Tarentini not to

B. C. 282 (*a. u.* 472) engage in hostilities with the Romans, retired unobserved from the assembly, put garlands on his head, and returned along with some fellow-revelers and a flute girl. At the sight of him singing and dancing the kordax, they gave up the business in hand to accompany his movements with shouts and hand-clapping, as is often done under such circumstances. But he, after reducing them to silence, spoke: "Now it is yours both to be drunken and to revel, but if you accomplish what you plan to do, we shall be slaves." (Mai, p. 169.)

Frag. XL B. C. 281 (*a. u.* 473) 1. ¶ King Pyrrhus was not only king of the district called Epirus, but had made the larger part of the Greek world his own, partly by kindness and partly by fear. The Ætolians, who at that period possessed great power, and Philip[1] the Macedonian, and the chief men in Illyricum did his bidding. By natural brilliancy and force of education and experience in affairs he far surpassed all, so as to be esteemed far beyond what was warranted by his own powers and those of his allies, although these powers were great. (Valesius, p. 589. Zonaras, 8, 2.)

2. ¶ Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, had a particularly high opinion of his powers in that he was deemed by foreign nations a match for the Romans: and he believed that it would be opportune to assist the fugitives who had taken refuge with him, especially as they were Greeks, and at the same time to anticipate the Romans with some plausible excuse before he received

[1] The son of Cassander, who ruled only four months in B. C. 296.

any damage at their hands. So careful was he about a fair pretext that though he had long had his eye on Sicily and had been considering how he could overthrow the Roman dominion, he shrank from taking the initiative in hostilities, when no wrong had been done him. (Mai, p. 169. Zonaras, 8, 2.) B. C. 281 (*a. u.* 473)

3. ¶ King Pyrrhus was said to have captured more cities by Cineas than by his own spear. For the latter, says Plutarch,[1] was skilled in speaking,— the only one in fact to be compared in skill with Demosthenes. Notwithstanding, as a sensible man, he spoke in opposition to Pyrrhus, pointing out to him the folly of the expedition. For the king intended by his prowess to rule the whole earth, whereas Cineas urged him to be satisfied with his own possessions, which were sufficient for enjoyment. But the man's fondness for war and fondness for leadership prevailed against the advice of Cineas and caused him to depart in disgrace from both Sicily and Italy, after losing in all of the battles many myriads of his own forces. (Valesius, p. 586.)

4. ¶ Pyrrhus sent to Dodona and enquired of the oracle about the expedition. And a response having come to him: "You, if you cross into Italy, Romans shall conquer," he construed it according to his wish (for desire has mighty power to deceive any one) and would not even await the coming of spring. (Mai, p. 169.)

5. ¶ The Rhegians had asked of the Romans a garrison, and Decius[2] was the leader of it. The majority of B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474)

1 Cp. Plutarch, Life of Pyrrhus, chapter 14.
2 *Decius Vibellius.*

B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474) these guards, accordingly, as a result of the excess of supplies and general easy habits,— for they enjoyed a far less strenuous existence than they had known at home,— through the persuasion of Decius formed the desire to kill the foremost Rhegians and occupy the city. It seemed as though they might be quite free to perform whatever they pleased, unconcerned about the Romans, who were busied with the Tarentini and with Pyrrhus. Decius was further enabled to persuade them by the fact that they saw Messana in the power of the Mamertines. The latter, who were Campanians and had been appointed to garrison it by Agathocles, the lord of Sicily, had slaughtered the natives and occupied the town.

The conspirators did not, however, make their attempt openly, since they were decidedly inferior in numbers. Letters were forged by Decius, purporting to have been written to Pyrrhus by some citizens with a view to the betrayal of the city. He next assembled the soldiers and read these to them, stating that they had been intercepted, and by his talk (the character of which may easily be conceived) excited them greatly. The effect was enhanced by the sudden announcement of a man (who had been assigned to the role) that a portion of Pyrrhus's fleet had anchored somewhere off the coast, having come for a conference with the traitors. Others, who had been instructed, magnified the matter, and shouted out that they must anticipate the Rhegians before some harm happened, and that the traitors, ignorant of what was being done, would

find it difficult to resist them. So some rushed down to the landing places, and others broke into the houses and slaughtered great numbers,— save that a few had been invited to dinner by Decius and were slain there. (Valesius, p. 589.) B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474)

6. ¶ Decius, commander of the garrison, after slaying the Rhegians, ratified friendship with the Mamertines, thinking that the similar nature of their outrages would render them most trustworthy allies. He was well aware that a great many men find the ties resulting from some common transgression stronger to unite them than the obligations of lawful association or the bonds of kinship. (Mai, p. 170.)

7. ¶ The Romans suffered some reproach from them for a while, until such time as they took the field against them. For since they were busied with concerns that were greater and more urgent, what these men did seemed to some of comparatively little importance. (Mai, p. 170.)

8. ¶ The Romans, on learning that Pyrrhus was to come, stood in terror of him, since they had heard that he was a good warrior and had a large force by no means despicable as an adversary,— the sort of information, of course, that is always given to enquirers in regard to persons unknown to them who live at a very great distance. (Mai, p. 170. Zonaras, 8, 3.)

9. For it is impossible that persons not brought up under the same institutions, nor filled with the same ambitions, nor regarding the same things as base or

B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474) noble, should ever become friends with one another.[1] (Mai, p. 537.)

10. ¶ Ambition and distrust are always qualities of tyrants, and so it is inevitable that they should possess no real friend. A man who is distrusted and envied could not love any one sincerely. Moreover, a similarity of habits and a like station in life and the fact that the same objects are disastrous and beneficial to persons are the only forces that can create true, firm friends. Wherever any one of these conditions is lacking, you see a delusive appearance of comradeship, but find it to be without secure support. (Mai, p. 170 and 537.)

11. ¶ Generalship, if it is assisted by respectable forces of men, contributes greatly both to their preservation and their chances of victory, but by itself is worth nothing. Nor is there any other profession that is of weight without persons to coöperate and to aid in its administration. (Mai, p. 171.)

12. ¶ When Megacles was dead and Pyrrhus had cast off his cap the battle took an opposite turn. One side was filled with much greater boldness by his preservation and the fact that he had survived contrary to their fears than if the idea had never gained ground that he was dead: the other side, deceived, had no second fund of zeal to expend, but, since they had been cut short in their premature encouragement and because of the sudden change in their feelings to an

[1] Nos. 9, 10, and 11 are thought to be possibly from the speech made by Lævinus to the soldiers (Zonaras, VIII, 3, 6).

expectation of less favorable results, had no hope that he might subsequently perish once more. (Mai, p. 171. Zonaras, 8, 3.) B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474)

13. ¶ When certain men congratulated Pyrrhus on his victory, he accepted the glory of the exploit, but said that if he should ever conquer again in like fashion, it would be his ruin. Besides this story, it is told of him that he admired the Romans even in their defeat and judged them superior to his own soldiers, declaring: "I should already have mastered the whole inhabited world, were I king of the Romans." (Mai, p. 171. Zonaras, 8, 3.)

14. ¶ Pyrrhus became famous for his victory and acquired a great reputation from it, to such an extent that many who were standing neutral came over to his side and that all the allies who had been watching the turn of events espoused his cause. He did not openly display anger towards them nor conceal entirely his suspicions; he rebuked them somewhat for their tardiness, but otherwise received them kindly. The result of showing excessive irritation would be, he feared, their open estrangement, while if he failed to reveal his real feelings at all, he thought that he would either be condemned by them for his simplicity in not comprehending what they had done, or would be suspected of harboring secret wrath. Such a surmise would breed in them either contempt or hatred, or would lead to a plot against him, due to the desire to anticipate injuries that they might suffer at his hands. For these reasons, then, he conversed affably with them and pre-

B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474). sented to them some of the spoils. (Mai, p. 172. Zonaras, 8, 4.)

15. ¶ Pyrrhus at first undertook to persuade the Roman captives (who were many) to join with him in a campaign against Rome; when, however, they refused, he treated them with the utmost consideration and did not put them in prison or harm them in any other way, his intention being to restore them voluntarily and through their agency to win over the city without a battle. (Valesius, p. 590.)

16. ¶ The Romans, who by reason of the elephants, —a kind of beast that they had never before seen,— had fallen into dismay, still, by reflecting on the mortal nature of the animals and the fact that no beast is superior to man, but that all of them in every way show inferiority if not as regards strength, at least in respect to understanding, they gradually became encouraged. (Mai, p. 172.)

17. ¶ The soldiers of Pyrrhus, also, both his native followers and the allies, showed tremendous eagerness for plunder, which seemed to lie ready before them and to be free from danger. (Mai, ib.)

18. ¶ The Epirots dishonored the ties of friendship, through vexation that after making the campaign supported by high hopes they were getting nothing except trouble. And this happened very opportunely for the Romans: for the dwellers in Italy that had leagued themselves with him, on seeing that he ravaged the possessions of allies and enemies alike, withdrew. In other words, his acts made a greater impression upon them than his promises. (Mai, ib.)

19. ¶ Pyrrhus dreaded being cut off on all sides by the Romans, while he was in unfamiliar regions. When his allies showed displeasure at this he told them that he could see clearly from the country itself what a difference existed between them and the Romans. The subject territory of the latter had all kinds of trees, vineyards and farms, and expensive agricultural machinery; whereas the property of his own friends had been so pillaged, that it was impossible to tell even whether it had ever been settled. (Mai, p. 173. Zonaras, 8, 4.) B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474)

20. ¶ The same man, when as he was retreating > it occurred to him to wonder>[1] how he beheld the army of Lævinus much larger than it was before, declared that the Roman troops when cut to pieces grew whole again, hydra-fashion. This did not, however, cause him to lose courage: he made preparations in his turn, but did not come to the issue of battle. (Mai, p. 173. Zonaras, 8, 4.)

21. ¶ Pyrrhus, who learned that Fabricius and other envoys were approaching, to treat in behalf of the captives, sent a guard to them as far as the border, to the end that they should suffer no violence at the hands of the Tarentini, met them in due time, escorted them to the city, entertained them brilliantly and honored them in other ways, expecting that they would ask for a truce and make such terms as was proper for a defeated party. (Ursinus, p. 376. Zonaras, 8, 4.)

22. ¶ When Fabricius made this statement merely:

[1] Gap supplied by van Herwerden.

B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474) "The Romans sent us to bring back the men captured in battle, and to pay ransoms of such size for them as shall be agreed upon by both of us," he was quite dumbfounded because the man did not say that he was commissioned to treat about peace; and after removing them he took counsel with the friends who were usually his advisers partly, to be sure, about the return of the captives, but chiefly about the war and its management, whether with vehemence or in some other way it . . . (Four pages are lacking.) (Mai, p. 173. Zonaras, 8, 4.)

23. . . . to manage, or to run the risk of battles and combats, the outcome of which is doubtful.[1] Hence, if you heed me, Milo, and the old proverb, you will not employ violence for any purpose rather than skill, where the latter is feasible, since Pyrrhus knows precisely what he has to do and does not need to be enlightened by us regarding a single detail of his program." By this speech they were all brought to one decision, particularly because this course entailed neither loss nor danger, whereas the others were likely to bring both. And Pyrrhus, being of this mind, said to the ambassadors: "Not willingly, Romans, did I previously make war upon you, and I would not war against you now: I feel that it of the highest importance to become your friend, and for this reason I release all the captives without ransom and make a treaty of peace." Privately, also, he did them favors, in order that, if possible, they might take his part, or at

[1] Cineas is the speaker.

any rate obtain friendship for him. (Mai, p. 173. Zonaras, 8, 4.) B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474)

24. Pyrrhus made friends of nearly all, and with Fabricius he conversed as follows: "Fabricius, I do not want to be at war with you any longer, and indeed I repent that I heeded the Tarentini in the first place and came hither, although I have beaten you badly in battle. I would gladly, then, become a friend to all the Romans, but most of all to you. For I see that you are a thoroughly excellent and reputable[1] man. I accordingly ask you to help me in getting peace and furthermore to accompany me home. I want to make a campaign against Greece and need you as adviser and general." Fabricius replied: "I commend you for repenting of your expedition and desiring peace, and will cordially assist you in that purpose if it is to our advantage (for of course you will not ask me, a man who pretends to uprightness, as you say, to do anything against my country); but an adviser and general you must never choose from a democracy: as for me, I have no leisure whatever. Nor could I ever accept any of these things, because it is not seemly for an ambassador to receive gifts at all. I would fain know, therefore, whether you in very truth regard me as a reputable man or not. If I am a scoundrel, how is it that you deem me worthy of gifts? If, on the other hand, I am a man of honor, how can you bid me accept them? Let me assure you, then, of the fact that I have many possessions and am in no need of more: what

1 The two words "and reputable" are a conjecture of Bossevain's. Some ten letters in the MS. have faded out.

B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474) I own supplies me and I feel no desire for what belongs to others. You, however, even if you believe yourself ever so rich, are in unspeakable poverty. For you would not have crossed over to this land, leaving behind Epirus and the rest of your dominions, if you had been content with them and had not been reaching out for more. Whenever a man is in this condition and sets no limit to his greed, he is the poorest of beggars. And why? Because he longs for everything not his own as if it were absolutely necessary, and with the idea that he could not live without it.

Consequently I would gladly, since you call yourself my friend, afford you a little of my own wealth. It is far more secure and imperishable than yours, and no one envies it or plots against it, neither populace nor tyrant: best of all, the larger the number of persons who share it, the greater it will grow. In what, accordingly, does it consist? In using the little one has with as much satisfaction as if it were inexhaustible, in refraining from the goods of others as if they contained some mighty danger, in wronging no man, in doing well to many, and in numberless other details, which only a person of leisure could rehearse. I, for my part, should choose, if it were absolutely necessary to suffer either one or the other, to perish by violence rather than by deceit. The former falls to the lot of some by the decree of Fortune, but the latter only as a result of folly and great greed of gain: it is, therefore, preferable to fall by the crushing hand of Fate[1] rather

[1] Omitting τι, and reading θείου, which the MSS. give.

than by one's own baseness. In the former instance a man's body is laid low, but in the latter his soul is ruined as well, . . . but in that case a man becomes to a certain extent the slayer of himself, because he who has once taught his soul not to be content with the fortune already possessed, acquires a boundless desire for increased advantages. (Mai, pp. 174 and 538. Zonaras, 8, 4.) B. C. 280 (*a. u.* 474)

25. And they presented themselves for the enlistment with the greatest zeal, believing, each man of them, that his own defection would mean the overthrow of the fatherland.[1] (Mai, p. 176.)

26. Such is the nature of oratory and so great is its power that it led even them to change, causing courage and hatred to take the place respectively of the fear inspired by Pyrrhus and the estrangements his gifts had wrought. (Mai, ib.)

27. ¶ Every force which, contrary to expectation, is humbled in spirit, suffers a loss also in strength. (Mai, p. 177.)

28. ¶ Pyrrhus sent to Decius, telling him that he would not succeed in accomplishing this even if he wished it [i.e., to die without being seized] and threatened besides that if he were taken alive he should perish miserably. To this the consuls answered that they were in no need of having recourse to such a proceeding as the one to which he alluded, since they were sure to conquer him in other ways. (Mai, ib. Zonaras, 8, 5.) B. C. 279 (*a. u.* 475)

1 Cp. Plutarch, Life of Pyrrhus, chapter 18 (early).

B. C. 278 (*a. u.* 476) 29. He did not know how he would repulse the one of them[1] first, nor how he should repel them both, and was in perplexity. To divide the army, which was smaller than that of his opponents, was something he feared to do, yet to allow one of them to ravage the country with impunity seemed to him almost out of the question. (Mai, p. 177.)

B. C. 277 (*a. u.* 477) 30. However, he behaved in general toward them with great circumspection, and awarded greater credit for his safety to the fact that no one, even if he wished, could harm him, than to the probability that no one would have desired to inflict an injury. It was for this reason, too, that he expelled and slew many who held office and many who called him in to help in their disputes. This was partly because he was somewhat displeased with them, on account of their statements that he had secured the reins of power in the State through their influence, and partly because he was suspicious of them and thought that as they had come over to his side so they might go over to some one else's . . . . (Mai, p. 178. Zonaras, 8, 5.)

B. C. 276 (*a. u.* 479) 31. ¶ As the allies were unwilling to contribute anything for the support of Pyrrhus, he betook himself to the treasuries of Persephone, that were widely reputed for their wealth, despoiled them and sent the spoils on ships to Tarentum. And the men almost all perished through a storm, while the money and offerings were cast out on land. (Valesius, p. 590.)

32. ¶ All admired the following act of Pyrrhus.

1 "They" are C. Fabricius Luscinus and Q. Æmilius Papus, Roman consuls.

Some youths at a banquet had ridiculed him, and at first he wished to have them before a court and exact vengeance, but, afterward, when they declared: "We should have said a lot more things a good deal worse, if the wine hadn't failed us," he laughed and let them go. (Mai, ib. Zonaras, 8, 6.) B. C. 276 (*a. u.* 479)

¶ Ptolemy, nicknamed Philadelphus, king of Egypt, when he learned that Pyrrhus had fared poorly and that the Romans were growing, sent gifts to them and made a compact. The Romans, accordingly, pleased that a monarch living so very far away should have come to respect them, despatched ambassadors to him in turn. From him the envoys, too, received magnificent gifts; but when they had offered these to the treasury, they would not accept them. (Ursinus, p. 374. Zonaras, 8, 6.) Frag. XLI B. C. 273 (*a. u.* 481)

¶ Though the Romans were faring in this manner and were constantly rising to greater heights they showed no haughtiness as yet: on the contrary, they surrendered to the Appolloniatians (Corinthian colonists on the Ionian Gulf) Quintus Fabius, a senator, because he had insulted some of their ambassadors. The people of this town, however, did him no harm, and even sent him home. (Valesius, p. 590. Zonaras, 8, 7.) Frag. XLII B. C. 266 (*a. u.* 488)

1. ¶ The causes responsible for the dispute between the two were — on the side of the Romans that the Carthaginians had assisted the Tarentini, on the side of the Carthaginians, that the Romans had made a treaty of friendship with Hiero. But these they merely put forward as excuses, as those are inclined to do who Frag. XLIII

Frag. XLIII in reality are desirous of advancing their own interests but pause before a reputation for such action. The truth is different. As a matter of fact, the Carthaginians, who had long been powerful, and the Romans, who were now growing rapidly, kept viewing each other with jealousy; and they were incited to war partly by the desire of continually getting more, according to the instinct of the majority of mankind, most active when they are most successful, and partly also by fear. Each alike thought that the one sure salvation for her own possessions lay in obtaining what the other held. If there had been no other reason, it was most difficult, nay, impossible, for two nations that were free, powerful, and proud, and separated from each other, so to speak, only a very short distance (considering the speed of voyages) to rule any outside tribes and yet keep their hands off each other. But a mere accident of the kind that befell broke the truce they had been keeping and dashed them together in war. (Mai, p. 178. Zonaras, 8, 8.)

2. ¶ The conflict, according to report, concerned Messana and Sicily, but in reality both parties perceived that from this region danger threatened their native land, and they thought that the island, lying, as it did, between them, would furnish to the side that conquered it a safe base for operations against the other party. (Mai, p. 179. Zonaras, 8, 8.)

B. C. 264 (*a. u.* 490) 3. ¶ Gaius Claudius came to the meeting, and among other remarks which he made to tempt them declared that the object of his presence was to free the city, since

the Romans had no need of Messana; and that he would immediately sail away, as soon as he should set their affairs in order. Next he bade the Carthaginians also either to withdraw, or, if they had any just plea to offer, to submit to arbitration. Now when not one of the Mamertines (by reason of fear) opened his lips. and the Carthaginians since they were occupying the city by force of arms paid little heed to him, he stated that the silence on both sides afforded sufficient evidence: on the part of the invaders it showed that they were in the wrong, for they would have justified themselves if their purposes were at all honest, and on the part of the Mamertines that they desired freedom; they might have been quite free to speak, had they espoused the cause of the Carthaginians, especially as there was a force of the latter present. Furthermore he promised that he would aid them, both on account of their Italian origin and on account of the request for assistance they had made. (Mai, p. 179. Zonaras, 8, 8.) B. C. 264 (*a. u.* 490)

4. ¶ Gaius Claudius lost some of the triremes and with difficulty reached safety. Neither he nor the Romans in the City, however, were prevented from renewing attempts by sea through the fact that they had been worsted when first making a trial of it, although this is the ordinary course that people pursue who fail in the first undertaking and think that they can never again succeed, viewing the past in the light of an omen. On the contrary, they applied themselves to the watery element with an even greater

B. C. 264 (*a. u.* 490) zeal, and chiefly because they were ambitious and did not wish to appear to have been diverted from their purpose by the disaster. (Mai, p. 180. Zonaras, 8, 8, sq.)

5. ¶ Hanno, who was in no wise disposed to make light of the war in case it were bound to occur, was particularly anxious to throw the responsibility for breaking the truce upon the other man, for fear it might be thought that he himself was taking the initiative. Accordingly, he sent back to him the ships and the captives, while he urged him to accept peace and exhorted him besides not to meddle with the sea. (Mai, p. 180. Zonaras, 8, 9.)

6. ¶ When he would accept nothing, he launched at him an arrogant and reprehensible threat. For he declared that he would never allow the Romans even to wash their hands in the sea: yet he lost not only the sea but also Messana not much later. (Mai, p. 180. Zonaras, 8, 9.)

7. ¶ Claudius, finding the Mamertines gathered at the harbor, called an assembly of their number and made the statement: "I have no need of arms but will leave it with you to decide everything." By this means he persuaded them to send for Hanno. As the latter refused to come down, he chid him soundly, inveighing against him and declaring that if he had even the slightest justification, he would certainly hold a conference with him and not persist in occupying the city by force. (Mai, p. 180. Zonaras, 8, 9.)

8. ¶ The consul Claudius exhorted the soldiers be-

forehand to be of good cheer and not to be cast down over the defeat of the tribune. He instructed them that in the first place victories fall to the lot of the better equipped, and that secondly their valor far surpassed the skill of their opponents. They would acquire, he said, the knowledge of seafaring in a short time, whereas the Carthaginians would never have bravery equal to theirs. Knowledge was something that could be obtained in a brief space by men who gave their minds to it and could be mastered by practice; but bravery, in case it were absent from a man's nature, could never be furnished by instruction. (Mai, p. 181.) B. C. 264 (*a. u.* 490)

9. ¶ The Libyans, rejoicing in the idea that they had conquered not through the nature of their position, but by their own valor, sallied out. But Claudius made them so fearful that they would not even peep out of the camp. (Mai, p. 181. Zonaras, 8, 9.)

10. For it happens in the majority of instances that those who as a result of calculation fear something are successful by reason of their precaution against it, whereas those whose boldness rests on lack of forethought, are ruined on account of their ungarded condition.[1] (Mai, p. 539.)

11. The quality of moderation both obtains victories and preserves them after they are won, whereas that of wantonness can prevail against nothing, and if it be at any time fortunate in some matter, very easily

[1] The Carthaginians are, in a general way, the subject of this section.

B. C. 264 (*a. u.* 490) destroys it. And again, if it perchance preserves some conquest, it grows worse by the very fact of extraordinary good fortune and so far from being benefited by its success is actually ruined by it irretrievably.

Moreover, whenever there is boldness not in accord with reason, you may expect to find unreasoning fear. Calculation, bringing with it resolution strengthened by forethought, and a hope made confident by its own trustworthiness do not allow one to be either dejected or presumptuous. Unreasoning impulse, however, often elates men in the midst of good fortune and humbles them to dust in disasters, possessing, as it were, no support, but always copying the feature of the chance event. (Mai, p. 539 and p. 181.)

12. ¶ The Romans and Carthaginians when they entered upon war were equally matched in the number of ships and readiness to serve. It was a naval battle

B. C. 260 (*a. u.* 494) soon after in which, with equal equipment, they first became engaged. They hoped that it would decide the whole war: Sicily lay before their eyes as the prize: they were contending in a matter of servitude or empire, resolved not to be beaten, lest they taste the former, but to conquer and obtain the latter. One side surpassed in the experience possessed by the crews of its triremes, since they had long been masters of the sea, and the other in the strength of its marines and its daring; for the rashness and audacity of their fighting was commensurate with their inexperience in naval affairs. In matters of experience practically all men make exact calculations and are imbued with whole-

some fear, even if their judgment approves a particular course, but the untried renders them unreasonably bold, and draws them into conflict through lack of due consideration. (Mai, p. 181.) B. C. 260 (*a. u.* 494)

13. ¶ The Carthaginians because of their defeat by the Romans in the sea-fight came near putting Hannibal to death. It is a trait of practically all people who send out armies on any mission to lay claims to advantage gained but to put the responsibility of defeat upon their leaders, and the Carthaginians were very ready to chastise those who failed in an enterprise.

He, however, was afraid and immediately after the defeat enquired of them whether if the business were still untouched they would bid him risk a sea-fight or not. When they declared in the affirmative, as he had doubtless expected, because they prided themselves on having such a superior navy, he added, by the mouths of the same messengers: "I, then, have done no wrong, for I went into the engagement with the same hopes as you. The decision was within my power but not the fortune of the battle." (Mai, p. 182. Zonaras, 8, 11.)

14. Dio in Book 11: "When the storm continued and a mist arose besides, he brought about Hannibal's defeat through the agency of some deserters." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 171, 26. Zonaras, 8, 12.) B. C. 258 (*a. u.* 496)

15. But regarding the non-surrender of their native land and the acquirement of foreign territory as matters of equal importance, they[1] contended with cour-

[1] I. e., The Carthaginians.

B. C. 258 (*a. u.* 496) age and force. For whereas most men defend their own possessions to the very limit of their power but are unwilling to lay claim to the goods of others if it involves danger, these antagonists set a like value upon what they held fast and what they expected, and so were equally determined upon both points. Now the Romans thought it better to conduct the war no longer at a distance, nor to risk a first encounter in the islands, but to have the contest in the Carthaginians' own land. If they failed, they would lose nothing; and if they conquered they would obtain something besides hopes. Therefore, making their preparation follow their resolve, they took the field against Carthage. (Mai, p. 183. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 12.)

B. C. 256 (*a. u.* 498) 16. Their leaders were Regulus and Lucius, preferred before others for their excellence. Regulus was, indeed, in so great poverty that he did not readily consent, on that account, to take up the command; and it was voted that his wife and children should be furnished their support from the public treasury. (Valesius, p. 593. Zonaras, 8, 12.)

17. ¶ Hanno had been sent to the Romans by Hamilcar, as was pretended, in behalf of peace, but in reality for the sake of delay. And he, when some clamored for his arrest, because the Carthaginians by fraud . . Cornelius . . . [Mai, p. 183.] Four pages of the MS. are lacking. (Zonaras, 8, 12.)

18. Dio the Roman, who wrote a history about the Empire and the Republic of Rome and describes the far-famed Carthaginian war, says that when Regulus,

consul for Rome, was warring against Carthage, a serpent suddenly crept out of the palisade of the Roman army and lay there. By his command the Romans slew the reptile and having flayed it sent its skin, a great prodigy, to the Roman senate. And when measured by the same senate (as the same Dio says) it was found to have a length of one hundred and twenty feet. In addition to its length its thickness was also notable. (Ioannes Damascenus, On Serpents, vol. I, p. 472, A. B. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 13.) B. C. 256 (*a. u.* 498)

19. ¶ The Carthaginians in fear of capture sent heralds to the consul to the end that by some satisfactory arrangement they might turn aside the danger of the moment, and so escape. But since they refused to withdraw from both Sicily and Sardinia, to release the Roman captives free of cost and to ransom their own, to make good all the expenses incurred by the Romans for the war and besides to pay more as tribute each year, they accomplished nothing. And in addition to the above mentioned, there were the following commands which displeased them: that they should make neither war nor treaties without the consent of the Romans, that they should employ not more than one warship but the Romans would come to their aid with fifty triremes as often as notice should be sent them, and that they would not be on an equal footing in conducting some other kinds of business. Considering these points they decided that the truce would mean their utter subjugation, and preferred rather to fight with the Romans. (Ursinus, p. 376. Zonaras, 8, 13.)

B. C. 254 (*a. u.* 500) 20. Dio in Book 11: "The Carthaginians kept watch for their ships homeward bound and captured several heavily laden with money." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 131, 12. Zonaras, 8, 14.)

B. C. 251 (*a. u.* 503) 21. ¶ They say the Carthaginians sent heralds to the Romans on account of the great number of the captives (among other causes), and most of all to see if they would be inclined to make peace on some moderate terms; if this could not be effected, their purpose still held to get back the captives. They say that Regulus, too, had been sent among the envoys because of his reputation and valor. The people assumed that the Romans would do anything whatever in the hope of getting him back, so that he might even be delivered up alone in return for peace, or at any rate in exchange for the captives. Accordingly, they bound him by mighty oaths and pledges to return without fail in case neither of their objects should be accomplished, and they despatched him as an envoy with others.

And he acted in all respects like a Carthaginian, not a Roman; for he did not even grant his wife leave to confer with him nor did he enter the city, although he was invited: instead, when the senate assembled outside of the walls, as their custom was in treating with the envoys of the enemy, he asked for permission to approach with the others — at least, so the story goes, ... (Ursinus, p. 377. Zonaras, 8, 15.)

22. Dio in Book 11: "Regulus paid no heed to them until the Carthaginians permitted him to do so." (Bekker, Anecd. p. 140, 20. Zonaras, 8, 15.)

23. Dio in Book 11: "For it is neither my duty nor that of any other upright man to give up aught that pertains to the public welfare." (Ib. p. 165, 23.) B. C. 251 (*a. u.* 503)

24. In Book 11: "Any one else, wishing to console himself for the disaster which had happened in his own case, would have exalted the prowess of the enemy." (Ib. p. 165, 30.)

25. The second part of the augury is transmitted to us by Dio Cassius Cocceianus, who says that they keep tame birds which eat barley, and put barley grains in front of them when they seek an omen. If, then, in the course of eating the birds do not strike the barley with their beaks and toss it aside, the sign is good; but if they do so strike the grain, it is not good. (Io. Tzetzes, Exegesis of Homer's Iliad, p. 108, 2.) B. C. 249 (*a. u.* 505)

26. He [sc. Mamilcar] thought it was requisite for a man who wished to accomplish anything by secret means not to make the matter known to anyone at all. There was no one, he believed, so self-possessed as to be willing, when he had heard, merely to observe operations and be silent. Just the reverse was true: the more strongly a man might be forbidden to mention anything, the greater would be his desire to speak of it, and thus one man learning the secret from another with the understanding that he was the only person to know it would reveal the story.[1] (Mai, p. 540. Cp. Diodorus, 24, 7.) B. C. 244 (*a. u.* 510)

27. In Book 11 of Dio: "He feasted the populace."[2] (Bekker, Anecd. p. 133, 24.)

[1] Section 26 may refer to Hamilcar Barca's plans for seizing Mount Eryx.

[2] Boissevain thinks that No. 27 may concern the banqueting of the populace during Metellus's triumph. Others have other opinions.

B. C. 244 (*a. u.* 510)

28. In Book 11 of Dio: "You attack even such friends as have been guilty of any error, whereas I pardon even my enemies." (Ib. p. 171, 29.)

29. In Book 12 of Dio: "By the one process[1] he might have become to a certain extent estranged from you." (Ib. p. 124, 4.)

30. In Book 12 of Dio: "Some are dead, and others, who were deserving of some notice, have been captured."[2] (Ib. p. 133, 25.)

Frag. XLIV

1. For the Ligurians occupy the whole shore from Etruria up to the Alps and as far as Gaul, according to Dio's statement. (Isaac Tzetzes, on Lycophron, 1312.)

B. C. 236 (*a. u.* 518)

2. The Romans at first sent Claudius to the Corsicans and gave him up. This was after he had made terms with them, but his countrymen, who claimed that the fault in breaking the compact rested on him and not on themselves, had waged war upon them and subdued them. When the Corsicans refused to receive him, the Romans drove him out. (Valesius, p. 593. Zonaras, 8, 18.)

Frag. XLV B. C. 235 (*a. u.* 519)

1. ¶ The Romans after exacting also money from the Carthaginians, renewed the truce. And at first when an embassy from the latter arrived, they returned no proper answer, because they were aware of the state of their own equipment and because they were themselves still busied at that time with the war against the neighboring tribes. After this, however,

1 Perhaps from the speech of Regulus to the senators.

2 This may be likewise from the speech of Regulus and be said of the Carthaginian leaders.

Hanno, a man of youthful years who employed striking frankness of speech, was sent. He touched unreservedly on a number of other subjects and finally his appeal — "If you don't want to be at peace, restore to us both Sardinia and Sicily; for with these we purchased not a temporary respite but eternal friendship" — caused them to become milder and ashamed . . . . Ursinus, p. 378. Zonaras, 8, 18.) B. C. 235 (*a. u.* 519)

2. . . . lest[1] they might suffer the same injuries in return, so that they were very glad to delay,— the one side choosing to preserve the prosperity that was an inheritance of the past, and the other to cling to the possessions which were still theirs. To judge by their threats they were no longer maintaining peace, but in fact they still deliberated about the matter, so that all could see that whichever of the two found it to his advantage to create the first disturbance would also be the one to begin war. Most men abide by their agreements just so long as suits their own convenience. If they have in view a greater resultant benefit to themselves, they deem it safe even to break some compact. (Mai, p. 184.)

¶ Once in the consulship of Marcus Pomponius and Gaius Papirius they despatched envoys to investigate affairs in Spain, although none of the Spanish States had ever yet belonged to them. He,[2] besides showing them other honors, addressed them in suitable words, declaring that he was obliged to fight against the Frag. XLVI B. C. 231 (*a. u.* 523)

1 Preceding this fragment four pages of the MS. are missing.
2 A reference to some previous proper name, outside this fragment.

B. C. 231 (*a. u.* 523) Spaniards in order that the money which was still owing to the Romans on the part of the Carthaginians might be paid; for it was impossible to obtain it from any other source. The envoys were consequently embarrassed to know how to censure him. (Mai, p. 184.)

Frag. XLVII B. C. 230 (*a. u.* 524) 1. ¶ The island of Issa surrendered itself voluntarily to the Romans. This was the first time the islanders were about to make the acquaintance of the latter, but they judged them more friendly and faithful than the powers which they then dreaded. Calculation caused them to place more dependence on the unknown than on the evident; for while the latter had aroused irritation through the dealings already had with it, the former afforded good hope, because its actions were as yet only matters of expectation. (Mai, ib. Zonaras, 8, 19.)

2. When the Issæans had attached themselves to the Romans, the latter, being ready and anxious to do them some favor in return forthwith, so as to get the reputation of aiding such as espoused their cause and also for the purpose of restraining the Ardiæans, who were annoying those that sailed from Brundusium,— for these reasons they sent messengers to Agro, who were to ask clemency for the Issæans and censure the king in that he was wronging them without previous cause. Now these men found Agro no longer in existence: he had died, leaving behind a child named Pineus. Teuta, Agro's wife and stepmother of Pineus, held the power over the Ardiæans, . . . Being . . . by boldness, she made no moderate response to their

requests, but woman-like she showed a vanity (due to innate recklessness as well as to the power that she was holding) by casting some of the ambassadors into prison and killing others for speaking frankly. Such was her action at that time, and she actually took pride in it as if she had displayed some strength by her facile cruelty. In a very short space, however, she proved the weakness of the female sex, for as she had quickly flown into a passion through short-sightedness of judgment, so through cowardice she was quickly terrified. As soon as she learned that the Romans had voted for war against her she was panic-stricken, and promised to restore their men whom she held, while she tried to defend herself for the death of the others, declaring that they had been slain by some robbers. When the Romans were thus led to cease temporarily their campaign and demand the surrender of the murderers, she showed contempt again, because the danger was not yet at her doors, and declaring that she would not give anybody up despatched an army against Issa. When she learned that the consuls were at hand she grew terrified again, gave over her high spirit, and became ready to heed them in every minutest detail. She had not yet, however, been fully brought to her senses, for when the consuls had crossed over to Corcyra she felt imbued with new courage, revolted, and despatched an army against Epidamnus and Apollonia. After the Romans had rescued the cities and at the news of their capture of ships and treasures of hers she was on the point of

B. C. 230 (*a. u.* 524)

B. C. 230 (*a. u.* 524) again yielding obedience. Meanwhile in the course of scaling certain heights overlooking the sea they were worsted near the Atyrian hill and she now waited, hoping, in view of the fact that it was really winter already, for their withdrawal. But on perceiving that Albinus remained where he was and Demetrius as a result of her caprice as well as from fear of the Romans had transferred his allegiance, besides persuading some others to desert, she became utterly terrified and gave up her sovereignty. (Ursinus, p. 378. Zonaras, 8, 19.)

Frag. XLVIII B. C. 228 (*a. u.* 526) In the time of Fabius Maximus Berucosus ("full of warts") the Romans did this, after burying in the middle of the Forum a Greek and a Gallic couple, man and woman: they were frightened by a certain oracle which said that Greek and Gaul should occupy the city. (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 603, 1056. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 19.)

Frag. XLIX 1. ¶ The Romans were being frightened by an oracle of the Sibyl which urged the necessity of guarding against the Gauls when a thunderbolt should fall upon the Capitol near the temple of Apollo. (Mai, p. 185.)

B. C. 225 (*a. u.* 529) 2. ¶ The Gauls became dejected on seeing that the Romans had taken beforehand the most favorable locations. All men if they obtain the object of their first aim proceed more readily toward their subsequent goals, but if they miss it, lose interest in everything else. They, however, after the Gallic fashion and more than is usual with the rest of mankind, lay hold very eagerly of what they desire and cling most

tenaciously to any success, but if they meet with the slightest obstacle have no hope left for the future. Folly makes them inclined to expect whatsoever they wish, and their spirited temperament ready to carry out whatsoever they undertake. They are given to violent anger and dash headlong into enterprises, and for that reason they have within themselves no quality of endurance (since it is impossible for reckless audacity to prevail for any time), and if they once suffer any setback they are unable (especially by reason of the fear to which they then fall a prey) to recover themselves: they are plunged into a state of panic corresponding to their previous fearless daring. In a brief period they rush vehemently to the most opposite extremes, since they can furnish no motive based on calculation for either action. (Mai, p. 185.) B. C. 225) (*a. u.* 529)

3. ¶ Æmilius on conquering the Insubres celebrated a triumph and in it conveyed the foremost captives clad in armor up to the Capitol, making jests upon them because he had heard that they had sworn not to remove their breastplates before they had ascended the Capitol. (Mai, p. 186. Zonaras, 8, 20.)

¶ If any of the details, even the smallest, that were customary in festivals had been missed, they renewed the ceremonial proceedings at any rate a second and a third time, and even more times still, so far as was possible in one day, till everything seemed to them to have been done faultlessly. (Mai, p. 186. Zonaras, 8, 20.) Frag. L

¶ Demetrius, elated by his position as guardian of Frag. LI B. C. 219 (*a. u.* 535)

B. C. 219 Pineus and by the fact that he had married the latter's
A. U. 535) mother Triteuta (Teuta was dead), was hateful to the natives and injured the property of neighboring tribes. So they summoned him before them (since it appeared that it was by misusing the friendship of the Romans that he was able to wrong those peoples) as soon as they heard of it. When he refused compliance and actually assailed their allies, they made a campaign against Issa, where he was. (Valesius, p. 593. Zonaras, 8, 20.)

Frag. LII 1. ¶ The Romans were at their prime in equipment for war and enjoyed absolute harmony among themselves. Whereas the majority of persons are led by unmixed good fortune to audacity but by a tremendous fear to proper behavior, they had quite a different experience at that time in those matters. The more successes they had the more sober it made them; against their enemies they displayed the kind of boldness that partakes of bravery, while toward one another they employed that right dealing which is closely connected with good order.[1] They held their power with a view to the practice of moderation and kept their orderliness for the acquirement of a true bravery: they did not allow their good fortune to develop into wantonness, nor their right dealing into cowardice. They believed that in case of such laxity temperance might be ruined by bravery and boldness by boldness; but that when people exercised care, as they did, moderation was made more secure by bravery

[1] The word for "good order" is conjectured by van Herwerden.

and good fortune rendered surer by discipline. This Frag. LII
was the reason for their vast superiority over the enemies that encountered them and for their excellent administration of both their own affairs and those of the allies. (Mai, p. 186.)

2. ¶ All who dwelt on the near side of the Alps revolted to join the Carthaginians, not because they preferred the Carthaginians to the Romans as leaders, but because they hated the force that ruled them and were for welcoming the untried. The Carthaginians had allies against the Romans from every one of the tribes that then existed; but Hannibal was worth nearly all of them. He could comprehend matters very quickly and plan the details of every project that he laid to heart, notwithstanding the fact that generally sureness is the product of slowness and only rash decisions result from hastiness of disposition. He was most . . . when given the smallest margin of time, and most enduring with a very great degree of reliability. He managed in a safe way the affair of the moment and showed skill in considering the future beforehand: he proved himself a most capable counselor in ordinary events and a very accurate judge of the unusual. By these powers he handled the issue immediately confronting him very readily and in the shortest time, while by calculation he anticipated the future afar off and considered it as though it were actually present. Consequently he, more than any man, met each occasion with suitable words and acts, because he made no distinction between what he possessed and

Frag. LII what he hoped for. He was able to conduct matters so for the reason that in addition to his natural capacity he was well versed in much Phœnician learning, common to his country, and likewise much Greek, and furthermore he understood divination by inspection of entrails. (Mai, p. 187 and Valesius, p. 593.)

3. With such intellectual qualities he had brought his body to a state of equal perfection, partly by nature, partly by practice, so that he could carry out easily everything that he took in hand. It was nimble and at the same time heavy to the utmost degree, and he could, therefore, run, fight, and ride safely at full speed. He never burdened himself with overmuch food, nor suffered annoyance by lack of it, but took more or less with equal grace, feeling that either was satisfactory. Hardship made him rugged, and on loss of sleep he grew strong.

Having these advantages of mind and body he universally administered affairs in a fashion now to be described. Since he saw that most men were trustworthy only in what concerned their own interest, he himself dealt with them in this manner and expected the same treatment of them, so that he very often succeeded by deceiving persons and very seldom failed by being the object of a plot. He regarded as hostile every force that could gain an advantage both among foreigners and among kinsmen alike, and did not wait to learn their intentions from their acts, but handled them quite unsparingly, assuming that they were

anxious to commit a wrong when they could: he Frag. LII
thought it better to be the first to act than the first to suffer, and resolved that the rest of the world should be dependent on him, and not he upon other persons. In fine, he paid attention to the nature of things, rather than to their reputed good points, as often as the two did not happen to coincide. He also, however, prized extravagantly whatever he needed. Slaves, most of them, he esteemed in that way, and beheld them willing to encounter danger for him even contrary to their own advantage. For these reasons he often himself refrained from opportunities for gain and other most delightful pleasures, but gave a share ungrudgingly to them. Hence he could get them to be not unwilling partners in hard work. He subjected himself not only to the same conditions of living as these men, but also to the same dangers and was the first to accomplish every task that he demanded of them. Likewise he was confident that they, too, without pretexts and with zeal,—since he showed his care for them not in words only,—would help him effect his projects.

Toward the rest he always behaved quite proudly; and the whole multitude, in consequence, felt either good-will or fear toward him because of their similar conditions of life, on the one hand, and because of his haughtiness on the other. Accordingly, he was fully able to bring low the towering head, to exalt humility, and to inspire all whom he pleased, in the shortest period, one with hesitation, another with boldness, with

Frag. LII hope also and despair regarding most important matters.

And that this information about him is not false, but is truthful tradition, his works are proof. Much of Spain he won over in a short time, and from there carried the war into Italy through the country of the Gauls, most of whom were not only not in league with him, but actually unknown to him. He was the first of non-Europeans, so far as we know, to cross the Alps with an army, and after that he made a campaign against Rome itself, sundering from it almost all its allies, some by force and others by persuasion. This, however, he achieved by himself without the aid of the Carthaginian government. He was not sent forth in the beginning by the magistrates at home, nor did he later obtain any considerable assistance from them. While they were on the eve of enjoying the greatest glory and benefit through his efforts, they wished rather not to appear to be leaving him in the lurch than to coöperate effectively in any enterprise. (Valesius, p. 593.)

Frag. LIII Dio Cocceianus calls the Narbonenses *Bebruces,* writing this: "To those who of old were Bebruces, but now Narbonenses, belongs the Pyrenees range. This range is the boundary between Spain and Gaul." (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 516. Zonaras, 8, 21.)

Frag. LIV 1. ¶Peace both creates wealth and preserves it, but war both expends it and destroys it.[1] (Mai, p. 188.)

[1] The first eight sections of this fragment seem to be taken from speeches of Romans in the senate-house. Nos. 1 and 2 are apparently the words of an unknown individual discouraging the eagerness for war; Nos. 3 and 4 may be spoken by Lentulus, urging war; and Nos. 5 to 8 may contain the opposing arguments of Fabius.

2. ¶Every human being is so constituted as to desire Frag. LIV
to lord it over such as yield, and to employ the turn of Fortune's scale against voluntary slaves. (Mai, ib.)

3. But do you who know the facts and have experienced them, think that propriety and humaneness are sufficient for your safety? And do you regard listlessly all the wrongs they have committed against us by stealth or deceit or violence? Are you not stimulated, are you not for paying them back or for defending yourselves? Then again, you have never reflected that such behavior is in place for you toward one another, but toward the Carthaginians is cowardly and base. Our citizens we must treat in a gentle and politic fashion; if one be preserved unexpectedly, he is of our possessions: but harsh treatment is for the enemy. We shall save ourselves not by our defeats as a result of sparing them, but by our victories that will come from abasing them. (Mai, p. 188.)

4. ¶War both preserves men's own possessions and wins the property of others, whereas peace destroys not only what has been bestowed by war but itself in addition. (Mai, pp. 188 and 541.)

5. ¶It is base to proceed to action ere arguments about the matter have been heard: for in such a case, if successful, you will be thought to have enjoyed good fortune rather than to have employed good counsel, and if worsted, to have taken your resolution without forethought, at a time when there was no profit in it. And yet who does not know this,—that to heap up reproaches and to accuse people that have once warred

Frag. LIV against us is very easy—any man can do it—whereas, to say what is advantageous for the State, not in anger over other men's deeds, but with a view to the State's benefit, is really the duty of the advising class? Do not irritate us, Lentulus, nor persuade us to begin war, until you show us that it shall be really for our advantage. Reflect particularly (though there are other considerations) that speaking here about deeds of war is not the same sort of thing as their actual performance. (Mai, p. 189.)

6. Men are often set on their feet by disasters, and many who use them wisely fare better than those who are completely fortunate and for that very reason wanton. Somehow ill luck seems to hold no inconsiderable portion of benefit, because it does not permit men to lose their senses or indulge in extreme wantonness. For naturally it is most advisable to set one's face steadfastly toward all the best things, and to make not possibility, but calculation, the measure of desire. And if a man be not able to prefer what is more excellent, it will still pay him to behave, even unwillingly, with moderation so as to regard in the light of happiness even the failure to be fortunate in all cases. (Mai, p. 542.)

7. It is imperative to be on one's guard against any similar experience again,— that being the only benefit that can come from disasters. Repeated good fortune occasionally ruins those who unthinkingly base their hopes upon it, believing they are sure of another victory, whereas failures compel every one as a re-

sult of his past trouble to provide for the future carefully beforehand. (Mai, pp. 189 and 542.) Frag. LIV

8. ¶ For securing the favor of the gods or a good reputation among men it is no small thing to escape the appearance of creating war, and seem to be compelled to defend the existing population. (Mai, p. 189.)

9. After speeches of this character on both sides they determined to prepare for fighting: they would not vote that way however, but determined to send envoys to Carthage and denounce Hannibal; then, if the Carthaginians refrained from approving his exploits, they would arbitrate the matter, or if all responsibility were laid on his shoulders, they would demand his extradition; if he were given up, well; otherwise they would declare war. (Mai, p. 190. Zonaras, 8, 22.)

10. ¶ When the Carthaginians made no definite answer to the envoys and instead behaved contemptuously toward them, Marcus[1] Fabius thrust his hands beneath his toga and holding them with palms upward said: "Here I bring to you, Carthaginians, both war and peace: do you choose unequivocally whichever of them you wish." Upon their replying to this challenge even then that they chose neither but would readily accept either that the Romans left with them, he declared war upon them. (Mai, p. 190. Zonaras, 8, 22.)

¶ The Romans invited the Narbonenses to an alliance. Frag. LV

1 According to Livy (XXI, 18, 1) his name was *Quintus*. Willems suggests emending to Maximus here.

Frag. XV But the latter declared that they had never suffered any harm from the Carthaginians or received any favor from the Romans that they should war against the one or defend the other, and were quite angry with them, charging that the Romans had often treated their kinsmen outrageously. (Mai, p. 190.)

Frag. LVI 1. ¶ From such an expectation, Dio says, already acquired from that source, the Romans and Carthaginians had reached a state in which they had formed the most different judgments regarding the administration of the war. For hopefulness, in that it leads all men to cheerfulness, renders them also more active and confident, possessed of a faith that they will be victorious; lack of hope casts them into dejection and despair, and deprives of strength even the naturally stout-hearted. (Mai, p. 191.)

2. Just as matters at a great distance and quite unknown are accustomed to disturb many men, so now they struck no little fear to the hearts of the Spaniards.[1] For the majority of the multitude that makes a campaign not for any reason of its own but ranking as an allied force is a strong force just so long as it has the hopes of obtaining some benefit without danger. But when the men reach the vicinity of the conflict, they are frightened out of their hopes of gain and lose their faith in promises. And the most of them have gotten it into their heads that they are by all means going to be successful in any case; con-

[1] This refers to the Spaniards' refusing, at the start, to undertake a campaign. Cp. Livy, XXI, 23.

sequently, even if they should meet with some reverse, they esteem it lightly in comparison with the hopes which have been offsetting it. (Mai, p. 191. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 23.) Frag. XVI

3. When the preparations failed to be sufficient in any respect for the size of Hannibal's army, and some one on this account suggested to him that the soldiers be fed on the flesh of their opponents, he did not take the idea amiss, but said he feared that some day through lack of bodies of that kind they might turn to eating one another. (Mai, p. 191. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 23.) B. C. 218 (*a. u.* 536)

4. ¶ Hannibal before beginning operations called together the soldiers and brought in the captives whom he had taken by the way: he enquired of the latter whether they wished to undergo imprisonment in fetters and to endure a grievous slavery or to fight in single combat one with another on condition that the victors should be released. When they chose the second alternative, he set them to fighting. And at the end of the conflict he said: "Now is it not shameful, fellow-soldiers, that these men who have been captured by us are so disposed toward bravery as to be eager to die in place of becoming slaves, whereas we shrink from incurring a little toil and danger for the purpose of not being subservient to others,— yes, and ruling them besides?" (Mai, p. 192. Zonaras, 8, 23.)

5. All the sufferings that we have endured when occasionally defeated by the enemy we will inflict upon them, if we are victorious. Be well assured that by

B. C. 218 (*a. u.* 536) conquering we shall obtain all the benefits that I mention, but if conquered we shall not even have a safe means of escape. The victor straightway finds everything friendly, even if possibly it hates him, and to the vanquished no one even of his own household pays any longer heed. (Mai, pp. 543 and 192.)

6. ¶ To have once failed in an enterprise against some foes puts them forever out of countenance, and is a preventative of any future courage. (Mai, p. 192.)

7. For the whole Gallic race is naturally more or less eccentric and cowardly and faithless. Just as they are readily emboldened in the face of hopes, so (only more readily) when frightened do they fall into a panic. The fact that they were no more faithful to the Carthaginians will teach the rest of mankind a a lesson never to dare to invade Italy. (Mai, p. 192. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 24.)

8. ¶ Many portents,[1] some of which had actually occurred and others which were the product of idle talk, became the subject of conversation. For when persons get seriously frightened and those . . . . are in reality proven to have occurred to them, oftentimes others are imagined. And if once any of the former phenomena is believed, heedlessly at once the rest . . . .

Accordingly, the sacrifices were offered and all the other ceremonies were accomplished which men are in the habit of performing for the cure of their temporary

[1] Cp. Livy XXI, 62, and XXII, 1, 8–20.

terror and for escape from expected ruin. Yet the race of men is wont to trust such agencies, hoping in the line of improvement, and so now, even if because of the greatness of the danger awaited they thought that the harshest fate would fall upon them, still they kept hoping that they would not be defeated. (Mai, p. 192.) B. C. 218 (*a. u.* 536)

9. ¶ The Romans proclaimed Fabius dictator, satisfied if they could themselves survive, and neither despatched any aid to the allies nor . . . . but learning that Hannibal had turned aside from Campania, they made sure of the former's safety through fear that they might change sides either willingly or under compulsion. (Mai, p. 193. Zonaras, 8, 25.)

10. ¶ Fabius continued to besiege him from a safe distance instead of in dangerous proximity; he would not venture to make a trial of men skilled in the art of war, and made the safety of the soldiers a matter of great circumspection because of the scarcity of the citizens, deeming it no disaster to fail of destroying the forces of the enemy but a great one to lose any of his troops. The Carthaginians, he believed, by means of their enormous multitude would encounter danger again even if once defeated, but if the smallest part of his own army met with failure he calculated that he should find himself in every extremity of evil; this would not be due to the number of the dead on any such occasion but to the previous setbacks endured. He was in the habit of saying that men with powers undiminished could often suffer without hurt the most dreadful losses, but those who were already exhausted

B. C. 218 (*a. u.* 536) might be harmed by the slightest reverses. Once, when his son advised him to run the risk and be done with it and said something about his not losing more than a hundred men, the above consideration led him to refuse assent, and he further inquired of the young man whether he would like to be one of the hundred men. (Mai, pp. 193 and 544. Zonaras, 8, 26.)

11. ¶ The Carthaginians, far from sending voluntarily any support to Hannibal, were rather disposed to make sport of him, because whereas he was continually writing of his splendid progress and his many successes he still asked money and soldiers of them. They said his requests did not agree with his successes: victors ought to find their existing army sufficient and to send money home instead of demanding additional funds from them. (Mai, p. 194. Zonaras, 8, 26.)

12. I am under accusation, not because I dash headlong into battles nor because I risk dangers in my office as general, purposing by losing many soldiers and killing many enemies to be named dictator and celebrate a triumph, but because I am slow and because I delay and because I always exercise extreme foresight for your preservation. (Mai, p. 542.)

13. Is it not really absurd for us to be zealous for success in enterprises outside and far off before the city itself is really set upon a firm foundation? Is it not absolutely outrageous to be eager to conquer the enemy before we set our own affairs well in order? (Mai, p. 543.)

14. ¶ Hannibal either as a favor to Fabius, on the ground that he was an advantage to them or perhaps to create a prejudice against him, did not ravage any of his possessions. Accordingly, when an exchange of captives was made between the Romans and Carthaginians with the proviso that any number in excess on either side should be ransomed, and as the Romans were unwilling to ransom their men with money from the public treasury, Fabius sold the farms and paid their ransom. Therefore they did not depose him but they gave equal power to his master of the horse, so that both held their commands on a like footing. Fabius harbored no wrath against either the citizens or Rufus: he excused them for an act prompted by human nature and was for contenting himself if in any way they might survive. He desired the preservation and victory of the commonwealth rather than an individual reputation, and continued to believe that excellence depends not on decrees but on each man's spirit, and that a man is better or worse not as a result of any ordinance but as a result of his own wisdom or ignorance. B. C. 218 (*a. u.* 536)

Rufus, however, who had not shown the right spirit in the first place was now more than ever puffed up and could not contain himself because he had obtained through his insubordination the further prize of equal authority with the dictator. And so he kept asking for the right to hold sole sway a day at a time, or for several days alternately. But Fabius, in the fear that he might work some harm if he should get possession of

B. C. 218 (a. u. 536) the undivided power, would not consent to either plan of his, but divided the army in such a way that they each, like the consuls, had a separate force. And immediately Rufus encamped apart, in order that he might give a practical illustration of the fact that he held sway in his own right and not subject to the dictator. (Valesius, p. 597. Zonaras, 8, 26.)

15. ¶ It is customary for men who are ruled to concur in opinion easily. Especially often do they join forces when the object is to slander men of good reputation, for the reason that it is their nature to help in augmenting any power just come to light but to bring low what has already obtained preëminence. And though one can not immediately measure one's self with men who surpass one through ampler resources, growth in an unexpected quarter brings hope of a like good fortune to others that dwell in obscurity.[1] (Mai, p. 194.)

16. ¶ Rufus, who obtained equal authority with the dictator, after a defeat by the Carthaginians altered his attitude (for disasters chasten somehow those who are not completely fools) and voluntarily gave up his leadership. And for this all praised him loudly. He was not held worthy of censure because he had failed to recognize at first what was fitting, but was commended for not hesitating to change his mind. They deemed it an act of good fortune for a man to choose right at the start a proper course of conduct, but they thoroughly approved the course of one, who, having

[1] This may come from a speech of M. Terentius Varro in favor of equalizing the powers of dictator and of master-of-horse.

learned from practical experience the better way, was not ashamed to face squarely about. From this episode, too, it was clearly shown how much one man differs from another and true excellence from the reputation therefor. What had been taken from Fabius by jealousy and prejudice of the citizens, he received back with good-will and even at the request of his colleague. (Mai, p. 194. Zonaras, 8, 26.) B. C. 218 (*a. u.* 536)

17. ¶ The same man when about to retire from office sent for the consuls, surrendered his army to them, and advised them in addition very fully regarding all the details of what must be done. The safety of the city stood higher in his estimation than a reputation for being the only successful commander, and expecting that if they followed their own bent they would probably meet with failure, but if they heeded his counsel they would meet with a favorable outcome, he preferred to look to the second contingency for praise. And the consuls were not unduly bold but acted on the suggestion of Fabius, deeming it better not to accomplish any important result than to be ruined; hence they remained where they were throughout the entire period of their command. (Mai, p. 195. Zonaras, 8, 26.)

18. For the Iapygians and Apulians dwell around the Ionic Gulf. Of the Apulians the tribes according to Dio are the Peuketii Pediculi, Daunii, Tarentini. There is also Cannæ, the "plain of Diomed," near Daunian Apulia. Messapia was called also Iapygia, later Salentia, and then Calabria. Argyrippa, a Dio-

B. C. 218 (*a. u.* 536) median city, was re-named Arpi by the Apulians. (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 603 and 852. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 1.)

B. C. 216 (*a. u.* 538) 19. Later he was arrayed against the Romans at Cannæ, when the Roman generals were Palus and Terentius. Now Cannæ is a level district of Argyrippa, where Diomed founded the city Argyrippa, that is to say "Argos the Horse-City" in the tongue of the Greeks. And this plain comes to belong later to the Daunii (of the Iapygians), then to the Salantii, and now to those that all call by the name Calauri. It is also the boundary between the Calauri and Longibardi, where the great war burst upon them. (Tzetzes, Hist., 1, 757–767. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 1.)

20. ¶ With regard to divination and astronomy Dio says: 'I, however, can not form any opinion either about these events or about others that are foretold by divination. For what does foreshowing avail, if a thing shall certainly come to pass, and if there could be no averting of it either by human devices or by divine providence? Accordingly, let each man look at these matters in what way he pleases." (Mai, p. 195. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 1.)

21. ¶ The commanders were Paulus and Terentius, men not of similar temperament, but differing alike in family and in character. The former was a patrician, possessed of the graces of education, and esteemed safety before haste, being restrained partly, it might be said, as a result of the censure he had received for his former conduct in office. Hence he was not inclined

to audacity, but was considering how he might keep from getting into trouble again rather than how he might achieve success by some desperate venture. Terentius, however, had been brought up among the rabble, was practiced in vulgar bravado, and so displayed lack of prudence in nearly all respects; for instance, he promised himself general direction of the war, kept constantly annoying the patricians, and thought that he alone should have the leadership in view of the quiet behavior of his colleague. Now they both reached the camp at a most opportune time: Hannibal had no longer any provender; Spain was in turmoil; the affection of the allies was being alienated from him: and if they had waited for even the briefest possible period, they would have conquered without trouble. As matters went, however, the heedlessness of Terentius and the submissiveness of Paulus, who always desired the proper course but assented to his colleague in most points — so sure is gentleness to be overcome by audacity,— compassed their defeat. (Mai, p. 196. Zonaras, 9, 1.) B. C. 216 (*a. u.* 538).

22. ¶ In the mêlée of the war not even the boldest possessed a hope so buoyant as to rise above the fear that arose from its uncertainty. The surer they felt of conquering the more did they tremble for fear they might in some way come to grief. Those who are ignorant of a matter by reason of their very lack of perception are not awaiting anything terrible, but the boldness derived from calculation . . . (Six pages are lacking.) (Mai, p. 196.)

B. C. 216 (*a. u.* 538)

23. At the time when burst this frightful war, a terrific earthquake occurred, so that mountains were cleft asunder and showers of great stones poured down from heaven. But they, fighting vigorously, perceived none of these things. At last so great a multitude of Roman warriors fell that Hannibal, the general, in sending to Sicily the finger-rings of the generals and the other men of repute filled many bushel and peck measures — so great a multitude that the noble, foremost Roman women ran lamenting to the temples in Rome and with the hairs of their heads cleansed the statues there; — and later had intercourse with both slaves and barbarians (because the Roman land had been utterly impoverished of men), to the end that their race might not be every whit extirpated. Rome at that time, after the utter loss of all her citizens, stood inglorious through many day-coursing cycles. Her old men sitting at her outer gates bewailed the disaster most grievous to be borne and asked ever and anon the passers-by whether any one perchance were left alive. (Tzetzes, Hist. 1, 767-785. (Cp. Fragm. LVI, 19, which precedes this.) Cp. Zonaras, 9, 1.)

24. ¶ Scipio, on learning that some of the Romans were prepared to abandon Rome, and indeed all Italy, because they felt it was destined to fall into the hands of the Carthaginians, yet found a way to restrain them. Sword in hand he sprang suddenly into the room where they were conferring, and after himself swearing to take all proper measures both of word and act he made them also devote themselves by oath to utter destruc-

tion, should they fail to keep their pledges to him. Later these men reached a harmonious decision and wrote to the consul that they were safe enough. He, however, did not at once write or despatch a messenger to Rome; on reaching Canusium he set in order affairs at that place, sent to the regions in proximity garrisons sufficient for immediate needs, and repulsed a calvary attack upon the city. Altogether, he displayed neither dejection nor terror, but with an unbending spirit, as if no serious evil had befallen them, he both planned and executed all measures of immediate benefit. (Valesius, p. 598. Zonaras, 9, 2.) B. C. 216 (*a. u.* 538)

25. Hannibal took possession of the Nucerini under an agreement that each man should leave the city carrying one change of clothing. As soon, however, as he was master of the situation he shut the senators into bath-houses and suffocated them, and in the case of the others, although he had granted them permission to go away where they pleased, he cut down many of them even on the road. Still, this course was of no profit to him, for the rest became afraid that they might suffer a similar fate, and so would not come to terms with him and resisted as long as they could hold out. (Valesius, p. 598. Zonaras, 9, 2.)

26. ¶ Marcellus showed great bravery, moderation, and justice. His demands on his subjects were not all rigorous or harsh, nor was he careful to see that they also should do what was needful. Those of them who committted any errors he pardoned humanely and, furthermore, was not angry if they failed to be like him. (Valesius, p. 601.)

B. C. 216 (*a. u.* 538) 27. ¶ When many citizens of Nola were dreading the men captured at Cannæ and later released by Hannibal, because they thought that such persons favored the invader's cause, and when they were even desirous of putting them to death, he opposed it. Furthermore, he concealed from this time on the suspicion that he felt toward them, and treated them in such a way that they chose his side by preference, and became extremely useful both to their native land and to the Romans. (Valesius, p. 601. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 2.)

28. ¶ The same Marcellus when he perceived that one of the Lucanian cavalrymen was in love with a woman permitted him to keep her in the camp, because he was a most excellent fighter: this in spite of the fact that he had forbidden any women to enter the ramparts. (Valesius, p. 601.)

29. ¶ He pursued the came course with the people of Acerræ as he had with those of Nucreia, except that he cast the senators into wells and not into bath-houses. (Valesius, p. 601. Zonaras, 9, 2.)

B. C. 216 30. ¶ Fabius got back some of the men captured in former battles by exchanging man for man, while others he made a compact to ransom with money. When, however, the senate failed to confirm the expenditure, because it did not approve of their ransoming, he offered for sale, as I have said,[1] his own farms and from the proceeds of them furnished the ransom for the men. (Valesius, p. 601.)

31. Archimedes, the well-known inventor, was by

[1] Cp. section 14 (first paragraph) of this fragment.

birth a Syracusan. Now this old geometrician, who had passed through seventy-five seasons, had built many powerful engines, and by the triple pulley, with the aid of the left hand alone, could launch a merchant ship of fifty thousand medimni burden. And when Marcellus once, the Roman general, assaulted Syracuse by land and sea, this man first by his engines drew up some merchantmen, and lifting them up against the wall of Syracuse dropped them again and sent them every one to the bottom, crews and all. Again, as Marcellus removed his ships a little distance, the old man gave all the Syracusans the power to lift stones of a wagon's size, and letting them go one by one to sink the ships. B. C. 216 (*a. u.* 538)

When Marcellus withdrew a bow shot thence, the old man manufactured a kind of hexagonal mirror, and at an interval proportionate to the size of the mirror he set similar small mirrors with four edges, moving by links and by a kind of hinge, and made the glass the center of the rays of the sun,— its noontide ray, whether in summer or in the dead of winter. So after that when the beams were reflected into this, a terrible kindling of flame arose upon the ships, and he reduced them to ashes a bowshot off. Thus by his contrivances did the old man vanquish Marcellus.

He used to say, moreover, in Dorian, the Syracusan dialect: "Give me where to stand, and with a lever I will move the whole earth."

This man, when (according to Diodorus) this Syracuse surrendered herself entire to Marcellus, or (ac-

B. C. 216 (*a. u.* 538) cording to Dio) was pillaged by the Romans during an all-night festival to Artemis that the citizens were celebrating, was killed by a certain Roman in the following fashion.— He was bent over, drawing some geometrical figure, and some Roman, coming upon him, made him his prisoner and began to drag him away: but he, with all his attention fixed just then upon his figure, not knowing who it was that pulled him said to the man: "Stand aside, fellow, from my figure." But as the other kept on dragging, he turned, and recognizing him as a Roman cried out: "Let some one give me one of my machines." The Roman in terror immediately killed him, an unsound weak old man, but marvelous through his works. Marcellus straighway mourned on learning this, buried him brilliantly in his ancestral tomb, assisted by the noblest citizens and all the Romans, and the man's murderer, I trow, he slew with an axe. Dio and Diodorus have written the story. (Tzetzes, Hist. 2, 103–149. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 4.)

32. Proculus sings of having forged fire-producing mirrors and of having hung them from the wall opposite the enemy's ships. Then when the rays of the sun fell upon these, fire was struck out of them that consumed the naval force of the opponents and the ships themselves,— a device which Dio relates Archimedes hit upon long ago, at the time when the Romans were besieging Syracuse. (Zonaras, 14, 3.)

33. Though such a disaster at that time had overwhelmed Rome, Hannibal neglected to reduce the town, and occupied in triumphs, drinking bouts and luxurious

living appeared sluggish in the enterprise, until at length a Roman army was collected for the Romans. Then was he hindered in three-fold manner when he set out for Rome. For of a sudden from the clear sky a most violent hail poured down, and a spreading darkness kept him from his journey. (Tzetzes, Hist. 1, 786–792. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 6.) B. C. 216 (*a. u.* 538) B. C. 211 (*a. u.* 543)

34. Dio in his Roman History 15: "For as a result of their position from very early times and their pristine friendship for the Romans, they would not endure to be punished, but the Campanians undertook to accuse Flaccus and the Syracusans Marcellus. And they were condemned in the assembly. (Suidas, s.v. *ἐδικαιώθησαν.*)

35. Dio in 15th Book: "For fear the Syracusans, in despair of assistance, commit some act of rebellion." (Bekker, Anecdota, p. 119, 121. Zonaras, 9, 6.)

36. ¶ The Romans had made propositions to Hannibal looking to a return of the prisoners on both sides, but did not accomplish the exchange although they sent Carthalo to them for this very purpose. For when they would not receive him, as an enemy, within the walls, he refused to hold any conversation with them, but immediately turned back in anger. (Ursinus, p. 379. Zonaras, 9, 6.)

37. ¶ Scipio the prætor, who saved his wounded father, surpassed in natural excellence, was renowned for his education, and possessed great force both of mind and also of language, whenever the latter was necessary. These qualities he displayed conspicu-

B. C. 211 (a. u. 543) ously in his acts, so that he seemed to be high-minded and disposed to do great deeds not for the sake of an empty boast but as the result of a steadfast tendency. For these reasons and because he scrupulously paid honors to the heavenly powers, he was elected. He had never had charge of any public or private enterprise before he ascended the Capitol and spent some time there. On this account also he acquired the reputation of having sprung from Jupiter, who had taken the form of a serpent on the occasion of intercourse with his mother.[1] And by this tradition he inspired many with a kind of hope in him. (Valesius, p. 601. Zonaras, 9, 7.)

B. C. 210 (a. u. 544) 38. ¶ Scipio, although he did not receive the title of legal commander from those by whom he was elected, nevertheless made the army his friend, roused the men from their undisciplined state and drilled them, and brought them out of the terror with which their misfortunes had filled them. As for Marcius,[2] Scipio did not, as most men would have done, regard him as unfit because he had acquired popularity, but both in word and deed always showed him respect. He was the sort of man to wish to make his way not by slandering and overthrowing his neighbor, but by his native excellence. And it was this most of all that helped him to conciliate the soldiers. (Valesius, p. 602.)

B. C. 209 (a. u. 545) 39. ¶ When a mutiny of the soldiers took place, Scipio

[1] Compare the story about Augustus (Volume III, page 3 of this translation).

[2] This is L. Marcius, a knight, who at the death of Publius and Gnæus Scipio in Spain was chosen commander by the soldiers.

distributed many gifts to the soldiers and designated many also for the public treasury. Some of the captives he appointed to service in the general fleet and all the hostages he gave back freely to their relatives. For this reason many towns and many princes, among them Indibilis and Mandonius of the Ilergetes, came over to his side. The Celtiberian race, the largest and strongest of those in that region, he gained in the following way. He had taken among the captives a maiden distinguished for her beauty and it was supposed, on general principles, that he would fall in love with her: and when he learned that she was betrothed to Allucius, one of the Celtiberian magistrates, he voluntarily sent for him and delivered the girl to him along with the ransom her kinsfolk had brought. By this deed he attached to his cause both them and the rest of the nation. (Valesius, p. 602. Zonaras, 9, 8.) B. C. 209 (a. u. 545)

40. ¶ Scipio was clever in strategy, agreeable in society, terrifying to his opponents, and humane to such as yielded. Furthermore, through his father's and his uncle's reputation he was thoroughly able to inspire confidence in his projects, because he was thought to have acquired his fame by hereditary excellence and not fortuitously. At this time the swiftness of his victory, the fact that Hasdrubal had retreated into the interior, and especially the recollection that he had predicted, whether through divine inspiration or by some chance information, that he would encamp in the enemy's country,— a prediction now fulfilled,— caused all to honor him as superior to themselves, while

B. C. 209 (*a. u.* 545) the Spaniards actually named him Great King. (Valesius, p. 605. Zonaras, 9, 8.)

[41. ¶ The king of the Spaniards, taken captive by Scipio, chose to follow the Roman cause, surrendered his own sovereignty, and stood ready to furnish hostages. Scipio, though he accepted the man's alliance, said there was no need of hostages, for he possessed the necessary pledge in his own arms.][1] (Mai, p. 545.)

42. Dio in 16: "You all deserve to die: however, I shall not put you all to death, but I shall execute only a few whom I have already arrested; the rest I shall release." (Suidas, s.v. ἐδικαιώθησαν. Zonaras, 9, 10.)

43. Later Hannibal incurred the jealousy of the Sicilians, and when he fell in need of grain, as the islanders did not send it, the former noble conqueror, now by famine conquered, was put to flight by Scipio the Roman, and to the Sicilians became part cause of their utter, dire destruction. (Tzetzes, Hist. 1, 793–797.)

44. Thus these authorities in regard to the Gymnesian islands. Dio Cocceianus, however, says they are near the Iberus river and near the European Pillars of Hercules,— which islands the Greeks and Romans alike call the Gymnesian, but the Spaniards Valerian or Healthful Islands. (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 633. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 10.)

45. ¶ Masinissa was in general among the most prominent men and was wont to accomplish warlike deeds, whether by planning or by force, in the best

[1] Probably spurious (Melber).

manner, and gained the foremost place in the confidence not only of the men of his own race (and these are most distrustful as a rule) but of those who greatly prided themselves upon their sagacity. (Valesius, p. 605. Zonaras, 9, 11.) B. C. 209 (*a. u.* 545)

46. ¶ Masinissa became mightly enamoured of Sophonis,[1] who possessed conspicuous beauty,— that symmetry of body and bloom of youth which is characteristic of the prime of life,— and had also been trained in a liberal literary and musical education. She was of attractive manners, coy and altogether so lovable that the mere sight of her or even the sound of her voice vanquished every one, however devoid of affection he might be. (Valesius, p. 605. Zonaras, 9, 11.)

47. . . . However he also wished to take revenge on him. For having incurred suspicion beforehand he took to flight, and on arriving at Libya inflicted many injuries by himself and many with Roman aid upon Syphax and the Carthaginians. Scipio, when he had won over the whole territory south of the Pyrenees, partly by force, partly by treaty, equipped himself for the journey to Libya, as he had received orders to do. This business, too, had now been entrusted to him in spite of much opposition, and he was instructed to join Syphax. Certainly he would have accomplished something worthy of his aspirations: he would have either surrounded Carthage with his troops and have captured the place or he would have drawn Hannibal from Italy, as he later did, had not the Romans at home

[1] The name appears as Sophoniba in Livy (XXX, 12).

B. C. 209 (*a. u.* 545) through jealousy of him and through fear stood in his way. They reflected that youth without exception always reaches out after greater results and good fortune is often insatiate of success, and throught that it would be very difficult for a youthful spirit . . through self-confidence . . . . . .

. . . . . it would be of advantage not to treat him according to his power and fame but to look to their own liberty and safety, they dismissed him; in other words, the man that they themselves had put in charge of affairs when they stood in need of him they now of their own motion removed because he had become too great for the public safety. They were no longer anxious to conduct a destructive warfare through his agency against the Carthaginians, but simply to escape training up for themselves a self-chosen tyrant. So they sent two of the prætors to relieve him and called him home. Also they did not vote him a triumph, because he was campaigning as an individual and had been appointed to no legal command, but they allowed him to sacrifice a hundred white oxen upon the Capitol, to celebrate a festival, and to canvass for the consulship of the second year following. For the elections for the next year had recently been held.

B. C. 207 (*a. u.* 547) At this same period Sulpicius, too, with Attalus captured Oreus by treachery and Opus by main force. Philip although in Demetrias was unable to check their encroachments speedily because the Ætolians had seized the passes in advance. At last, however, he did arrive on the scene and finding Attalus dispos-

ing of the spoil from Opus (for this had fallen to his lot, and that from Oreus to the Romans) he hurled him back to his ships. Attalus, accordingly, for this reason and also because Prusias, king of Bithynia, had invaded his country and was devastating it, hastily sailed away homewards. B. C. 207 (*a. u.* 547)

Philip, however, far from being elated at this success, even wished to conclude a truce with the Romans and especially because Ptolemy, too, was sending ambassadors from Egypt and trying to reconcile them. After some preliminary discussion . . he no longer requested peace, but . . . drew the Ætolians away from the Roman alliance by some . . and made them friends. Nothing worthy of remembrance, however, was done either by him or by any others either then or in the following year when Lucius Veturius and Cæcilius Metellus became consuls; this notwithstanding the fact that many signs of ill-omen to the Romans were reported. For example, a hermaphrodite lamb was born, and a swarm of . . . . was seen, down the doors of the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter two serpents glided, both the doors and the altar in the temple of Neptune ran with copious sweat, in Antium bloody ears were seen by some reapers, elsewhere a woman having horns appeared and many thunderbolts . . into temples . . . Paris Fragment (10th Century MS.) (See Haase, Rh. Mus., 1839, p. 458, ff. Zonaras 9, 11.) B. C. 206 (*a. u.* 548)

48. ¶ Licinius Crassus, by reason of his geniality and beauty and wealth (which gained for him the name of B. C. 205 (*a. u.* 549)

B. C. 205 (*a. u.* 549) Wealthy) and because he was a high priest, was to stay in Italy without casting lots for the privilege. (Valesius, p. 605. Zonaras, 9, 11.)

49. ¶ The Pythian god commanded the Romans to entrust to the best of the citizens the conveyance to the city of the goddess from Pessinus, and they accordingly honored Publius Scipio, a son of Gnæus who died in Spain, above all others by their first preference. The reason was that he was in general . . . and was deemed both pious and just. He at this time, accompanied by the most prominent women, conducted the goddess to Rome and to the Palatine. (Valesius, p. 606.)

50. ¶ The Romans on learning of the actions of the Locrians, thinking it had come about through contempt of Scipio, were displeased, and under the influence of anger immediately made plans to end his leadership and to recall him for trial. They were also indignant because he adopted Greek manners, wore his toga thrown back over his shoulder, and contended in the palæstra. Furthermore it was said he gave over to the soldiers the property of the allies to plunder, and he was suspected of delaying the voyage to Carthage purposely, in order that he might hold office for a longer time; but it was principally at the instigation of men who all along had been jealous of him that they wished to summon him. Still, this proposition was not carried out because of the great favor, based on their hopes of him, which the mass of the people felt for him. (Valesius, p. 606. Zonaras, 9, 11.)

51. . . . . they stopped and pitched a camp in a suitable place and fenced it all about with palisades, as they had brought in stakes for this very purpose. It had just been finished when a great serpent came gliding along beside it on the road leading to Carthage, so that by this portent, Scipio, owing to the tradition about his father, was encouraged, and devastated the country and assaulted the cities with greater boldness. Some of the latter he did succeed in capturing; and the Carthaginians not yet . . . prepared remained still, and Syphax was by profession their friend, but, as a matter of fact, he held aloof from the action; by urging Scipio to come to terms with them he showed that he was unwilling that either side should conquer the other and at the same time become his master; on the contrary he desired them to oppose each other as vigorously as possible but to be at peace with him. Consequently, as Scipio was harrying the country, Hanno the cavalry commander (he was a son of Hasdrubal) . . . the . . . was persuaded on the part of Masinissa . to the Carthaginians . . . warlike . . . was believed, and, therefore, Scipio, sending forward some horsemen on the advice of Masinissa . . . . laid an ambush in a suitable spot where they were destined . . . making an onset to simulate flight. Against . . . . . those wishing to pursue them. This also took place. The Carthaginians attacked them, and when after a little by agreement they turned, followed after at full speed while Masinissa with his accompanying cavalry lagged be-

B. C. 204 (*a. u.* 550)

B. C. 204 (*a. u.* 550) hind and got in the rear of the pursuers, and Scipio appearing from ambush went to meet them: thus they were cut off and overwhelmed with weapons on both sides and many were killed and captured . . . . . and also Hanno. On learning this, Hasdrubal arrested the mother of Masinissa. And those captives were exchanged, one for the other.

Now Syphax, being well aware that Masinissa would war against him no less than against the Carthaginians and fearing that he might find himself bereft of allies if they suffered any harm through his desertion of their cause, renounced his pretended friendship for the Romans and attached himself openly to the Carthaginians. He failed to render the wholehearted assistance, however, to the point of actually resisting the Romans, and the latter overran the country with impunity, carrying off much plunder and recovering many prisoners from Italy who had previously been sent to Libya by Hannibal; consequently they despised their foes and began a campaign against Utica. When Syphax and Hasdrubal saw this, they so feared for the safety of the place that they no longer remained passive; and their approach caused the Romans to abandon the siege, since they did not dare to contend against two forces at the same time. Subsequently the invaders went into winter quarters where they were, getting a part of their provisions from the immediate neighborhood and sending for a part from Sicily and Sardinia; for the ships that carried the spoils to Sicily could also bring them food supplies.

In Italy no great results were accomplished in the war against Hannibal. Publius Sempronius in a small engagement was vanquished by Hannibal, but later overcame the latter in turn: Livius and Nero, having become censors, announced to those Latins who had abandoned the joint expedition and had been designated to furnish a double quota of soldiers, that a census of persons taxable should be taken; this they did in order that others, too, might contribute money, and they made salt, which up to that time had been free of tax, taxable. This measure was for no other purpose than to satisfy Livius, who designed it, thus requiting the citizens for their vote of condemnation; and indeed, he received a nickname from it; after this he was called Salinator.[1] This was one act that caused these censors to become notorious; another was that they deprived each other of their horses and made each other ærarii[2] . . . . . according to the . . . . (Paris fragment (p. 460). Zonaras, 9, 12.) B. C. 204 (*a. u.* 550)

52. ¶ Scipio captured a Carthaginian vessel but released it, inflicting no injury when they feigned to have been coming on an embassy to him. He knew that this pretext was invented to secure the safety of the captives, but preferred avoiding the possibility of being touched by the breath of slander to the retention of the ship. Also, when Syphax at that time was still endeavoring to reconcile them on the terms that Scipio B. C. 203 (*a. u.* 551)

1 Salinator = "salt-dealer."
2 Ærarius — a citizen of the lowest class, who paid only a poll-tax and had no right to vote.

B. C. 203 (*a. u.* 551) should sail from Libya and Hannibal from Italy, he received his proposition not because he trusted him, but to the end that he might ruin him. (Valesius, p. 606. Zonaras, 9, 12.)

53. ¶ The Romans came bringing to Scipio along with much other property Syphax himself. And the commander would not consent to see him remain bound in chains, but calling to mind his entertainment at the other's court and reflecting on human misfortunes, on the fact that his captive had been king over no inconsiderable power and had shown commendable zeal in his behalf, and that nevertheless he beheld him in so pitiable a plight,—Scipio leaped from his chair, loosed him, embraced him, and treated him with great consideration. (Valesius, p. 606. Zonaras, 9, 13.)

54. ¶ The Carthaginians made propositions to Scipio through heralds, and of the demands made upon them by him there was none that did not promise to satisfy, although they never intended to carry out their agreement; they did, to be sure, give him money at once and gave back all the prisoners, but in regard to the other matters they sent envoys to Rome. The Romans would not receive them at that time, declaring that it was a tradition in the State not to negotiate a peace with any parties while their armies were in Italy. Later when Hannibal and Mago had embarked, they granted the envoys an audience and fell into a dispute among themselves, being of two minds. At last, however, they voted the peace on the terms that Scipio had arranged. (Ursinus, p. 380. Zonaras, 9, 13.)

55. ¶The Carthaginians attacked Scipio both by land and by sea. Scipio, vexed at this, made a complaint, but they returned no proper answer to the envoys and moreover actually plotted against them when they sailed back; and had not by chance a wind sprung up and aided them, they would have been captured or would have perished. On this account Scipio, although at this time the commissioners arrived with peace for the men of Carthage, refused any longer to make it. (Ursinus, p. 380. Zonaras, 9, 13.) B. C. 203 (*a. u.* 551)

56. Nearly all who conduct a military expedition,—or many, at any rate,—perform voluntarily many acts which would not be required of them. They look askance at their instructions as something forced upon them, but are delighted with the projects of their own minds because they feel themselves so far independent. (Valesius, p. 609.)

57. Dio in Book 17: "He suddenly halted in his running." (Bekker, Anecd., p. 140, 23. Zonaras, 9, 14.)

58. Dio in *Roman History* 17: "In general the fortunate party is inclined to audacity and the unfortunate to moderate behavior, and accordingly, the timid party is wont to show temperance and the audacious intemperance. This was to be noted to an especial degree in that case."[1] (Suidas s. v. ὡς ἐπίπαν)

59. Dio in Roman History 17: "And a report about them of same such nature as follows was made public." (Suidas and Etymologicum Magnum and others s. v. ἐδημώθη.)

1 This may conceivably relate to Masinissa's marrying Sophoniba without authorization.

B. C. 203 (*a. u.* 551)

60. ἐνθυμιζόμενοι = *calculating.* So Dio in Book 17, Roman History. (Suidas or Etym. in Cramer. Anecd., Paris, Vol. IV, p. 169, 8. Zonaras, Lex., p. 750.)

61. διατίθημι ("arrange") for διαπράττομαι ("accomplish"), with the accusative in Dio, Book 18: "And culling all the best flowers of philosophy." (Bekker, Anecd., p. 133, 29.) [This is from two glosses, and there is confusion caused by gaps.—Ed.]

B. C. 201 (*a. u.* 553)

62. [The Carthaginians made overtures for peace to Scipio. The terms agreed upon were, that they should give hostages, should return the captives and deserters they were holding (whether of the Romans or of the allies), should surrender all the elephants and the triremes (save ten), and for the future possess neither elephants nor ships, should withdraw from all territory of Masinissa that they were holding and restore to him the country and the cities that were properly in his domain, that they should not hold levies, nor use mercenaries, nor make war upon any one contrary to the advice and consent of the Romans. (Ursinus, p. 380. Zonaras, 9, 14.)

63. ¶ It seemed to Cornelius[1] the consul, as well as to many other Romans, that Carthage ought to be destroyed, and he was wont to say that it was impossible, while that city existed, for them to be free from fear. (Ursinus, p. 381. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 14.)

64. In the popular assembly, however, . . . all unanimously voted for peace. [*About three obscure lines (fragmentary) follow.*]

[1] *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.*

And of the elephants the larger number were carried off to Rome, and the rest were presented to Masinissa. B. C. 201 (*a. u.* 553)

. . . of Carthaginians. And they themselves, immediately after the ratification of the peace, abandoned Italy, and the Romans, Libya. The Carthaginians who sent commissioners to Rome were allowed by the Romans to contribute for the benefit of the captives severally related to them; and about two hundred of them were sent back without ransoms to Scipio . . . . after the treaty . . . . and friendship . . . . confirmed; and they granted peace . . . . . .

[Two fragmentary lines.] Scipio accordingly attained great prominence by these deeds, but Hannibal was even brought to trial by his own people; he was accused of having refused to capture Rome when he was able to do so, and of having appropriated the plunder in Italy. He was not, however, convicted, but was shortly after entrusted with the highest office in Carthage . . . . . [One fragmentary line.] (Paris Fragment, p. 462. Zonaras, 9, 14. Livy, 30:42, 43, 45.)

1. . . . . Marcus . . . . sent to Philip by the generals . . . . . from them either . . . . . was successful; embassy . . . . . of Philip and . . . . . and some . . . which he himself . . . . . had sent to the Carthaginians . . . . . not at all peace . . . . . having vanquished . . . . enemies by the . . . rendered them of no less importance in reputation. (Paris Fragment, p. 463. Cp. Zonaras, 9. 15 = Livy, 30:42.) Frag. LVII

Frag. LVII 2. I found the Dardanians to be a race dwelling above the Illyrians and Macedonians. And the city of Dardanus is there. (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 1128. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 14.)

B. C. 200 (*a. u.* 554) 3. And they[1] delayed for several days, not meeting in battle array but conducting skirmishes and sallies of the light-armed troops and the horse. The Romans, for their part, were eager to join battle with all speed: their force was a strong one, they had little provision, and consequently would often go up to the foe's palisade. Philip, on the other hand, was weaker in point of armed followers, but his supply of provisions was better than theirs because his own country was close by; so he waited, expecting that they would become exhausted without a conflict, and if he had possessed self-control he certainly would have accomplished something. As it was, he acquired a contempt for the Romans, thinking that they feared him because they had transferred their camp to a certain spot from which they could get food better: he thereupon attacked them unexpectedly while they were engaged in plundering and managed to kill a few. Galba on perceiving this made a sortie from the camp, fell upon him while off his guard, and slew many more in return. Philip, in view of his defeat and the further fact that he was wounded, no longer held his position but after a truce of some days for the taking up and burial of the corpses withdrew the first part of the night. Galba, however, did not follow him up; he was short of pro-

[1] I. e., the Romans and the Macedonians.

visions, he did not know the country, and particularly he was ignorant of his adversary's strength; he was also afraid that if he advanced inconsiderately he might come to grief. For these reasons he was unwilling to proceed farther, but retired to Apollonia. B. C. 200 (*a. u.* 554)

During this same time Apustius with the Rhodians and with Attalus cruised about and subjugated many of the islands . . . . (Paris Fragment, p. 464. Zonaras, 9, 15. Cp. Livy, 31 :21 ff.)

4. The Insubres were thrown into confusion. For Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, who had made a campaign with Mago and remained secretly in those regions, after a term of quiet, during which he was satisfied merely to elude discovery, as soon as the Macedonian war broke out, caused the Gauls to revolt from the Romans; then in company with the rebels he made an expedition against the Ligurians and won over some of them. Later they had a battle with the prætor Lucius Furius, were defeated, and sent envoys asking peace. This the Ligurians obtained; then others . . . [Five fragmentary lines.] (Paris Fragment, p. 465. Zonaras, 9, 15.)

5. . . . . he thought he ought to be granted a triumph, and many arguments were presented on both sides. Some, especially in view of the malignity of Aurelius, eagerly furthered his cause and magnified his victory, using many illustrations. Others declared he had contended with the help of the consular army and had no individual and independent appointment, and furthermore they even demanded an accounting

B. C. 200 (*a. u.* 554) from him because he had not carried out his instructions. However, he won his point. And he in that place . . . . before Aurelius . . . . Vermis . . . . . from the . . . . (Paris Fragment, p. 465. Cp. Livy, 31 :47 ff.)

Frag. LVIII B. C. 197 (*a. u.* 557) ¶ Philip after his defeat sent heralds to Flamininus. The latter, however eagerly he coveted Macedonia and desired the fullest results from his good fortune of the moment, nevertheless made a truce. The cause lay in the fear that, if Philip were out of the way, the Greeks might recover their ancient spirit and no longer pay them court, that the Ætolians, already filled with great boasting because they had contributed the largest share to the victory, might become more vexatious to them, and that Antiochus might, as was reported, come to Europe and form an alliance with Philip. (Ursinus, p. 381. Zonaras, 9, 16.)

Frag. LIX B. C. 192 (*a. u.* 562) 1. ¶ Antiochus and his generals were ruined beforehand; for by his general indolence and his passion for a certain girl he had drifted into luxurious living and had at the same time rendered the rest unfit for warfare. (Valesius, p. 609. Zonaras, 9, 19.)

B. C. 190 (*a. u.* 564) 2. ¶ Seleucus[1] the son of Antiochus captured the son of Africanus, who was sailing across from Greece, and had given him the kindest treatment. Although his father many times requested the privilege of ransoming him, his captor refused, yet did him no harm: on the contrary, he showed him every honor and finally, though he failed of securing peace, released him without ransom. (Valesius, p. 609. Zonaras, 9, 20.)

[1] Probably an error of the excerptor, for Antiochus himself.

¶ Many were jealous of the Scipios because the two brothers of excellent stock and trained in virtue had accomplished all that has been related and had secured such titles. That these victors could not be charged with wrongdoing is made plain by my former statements and was shown still more conclusively on the occasion of the confiscation of the property of Asiaticus,—which was found to consist merely of his original inheritance,—or again by the retirement of Africanus to Liternum and the security that he enjoyed there to the end of his life. At first he did appear in court,[1] thinking that he would be saved by the genuineness of his good behavior. (Valesius, p. 609. Zonaras, 9, 20.) Frag. LX B. C. 189 (*a. u.* 565)

¶ The Romans, when they had had a taste of Asiatic luxury and had spent some time in the possessions of the vanquished amid the abundance of spoils and the license granted by success in arms, rapidly came to emulate their prodigality and ere long to trample under foot their ancestral traditions. Thus this terrible influence, arising from that source, fell also upon the city. (Valesius, p. 609.) Frag. LXI

¶ Gracchus was thoroughly a man of the people and a very fluent public speaker, but his disposition was very different from Cato's. Although he had an enmity of long standing against the Scipios, he would not endure what was taking place but spoke in defence of Africanus, who was accused while absent, and exerted himself to prevent any smirch from attaching to Frag LXII

1 Political enemies of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus summoned him to court on trumped-up charges.

Frag. LXII that leader; and he prevented the imprisonment of Asiaticus. Consequently the Scipios, too, relinquished their hatred of him and made a family alliance, Africanus bestowing upon him his own daughter. (Valesius, p. 610.)

Frag. LXIII B. C. 187 (*a. u.* 567) ¶ Some youths who had insulted the Carthaginian envoys that had come to Rome were sent to Carthage and delivered up to the people; they received no injury, however, at the hands of the citizens and were released. (Ursinus, p. 381.)

Frag. LXIV B. C. 183 (*a. u.* 571) ¶ He himself [i. e. Hannibal] died by drinking poison near Bithynia, in a certain place called Libyssa by name, though he thought to die in Libyssa his own proper country. For an oracle had once been written down for Hannibal to the following effect: "A Libyssan clod shall hide the form of Hannibal." Later the Roman Emperor Severus, being of Libyan birth, interred in a tomb of white marble this man, the general Hannibal. (Tzetzes, Hist. 1, 798–805. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 21.)

1. ¶ Perseus hoped to eject the Romans from Greece completely, but through his excessive and inopportune parsimony and the consequent contempt of his allies he became weak once more. When Roman influence Frag. LXV B. C. 169 (*a. u.* 585) was declining slightly and his own was increasing, he was filled with scorn and thought he had no further need of his allies, but believed that either they would assist him free of cost or he could prevail by himself. Hence he paid neither Eumenes nor Gentius the money that he had promised, thinking that they must have

reasons of their own strong enough to insure hostility towards the Romans. These princes, therefore, and the Thrasians—they, too, were not receiving their full pay—became indifferent; and Perseus fell into such depths of despair again as actually to sue for peace. (Valesius, p. 610. Zonaras, 9, 22.) B. C. 169 (*a. u.* 585)

2. ¶ Perseus sued for peace at the hands of the Romans, and would have obtained it but for the presence in his embassy of the Rhodians, who joined it through fear that a rival to the Romans might be annihilated. Their language had none of the moderation which petitioners should employ, and they talked as if they were not so much asking peace for Perseus as bestowing it, and adopted a generally haughty tone: finally they threatened those who should be responsible for their failing to come to a satisfactory agreement by saying that they would fight on the opposite side. They had previously been somewhat under the ban of Roman suspicion, but after this many more hard things were said of them and they prevented Perseus from obtaining peace. (Ursinus, p. 382. Zonaras, 9, 22.)

3. ¶ When Perseus was in the temple at Samothrace, a demand was made upon him for the surrender of one Evander, of Cretan stock, a most faithful follower who had assisted him in many schemes against the Romans and had helped to concoct the plot carried out at Delphi against Eumenes. The prince, fearing that he might declare all the intrigues to which he had been privy, did not deliver him but secretly slew him and spread abroad the report that he had made B. C. 168 (*a. u.* 586)

B. C. 168 (*a. u.* 586) way with himself in advance. The associates of Perseus, fearing his treachery and blood-guiltiness, then began to desert his standard. (Valesius, p. 610. Zonaras, 9, 23.)

4. ¶ Perseus allowed himself[1] to be found, and upon his being brought to Amphipolis Paulus accorded him no harsh treatment by deed or word, but on the contrary made way for him when he approached, entertained him in various ways and had him sit at his table, keeping him, meanwhile, although a prisoner, unconfined and showing him every courtesy. (Valesius, p. 613. Zonaras, 9, 23.)

Frag. LXVI ¶ Paulus was not only good at generalship but most inaccessible to bribes. Of this the following is proof. Though he had at that time entered for a second term upon the consulship and had gained possession of untold spoils, he continued to live in so great indigence that when he died the dowry was with difficulty paid back to his wife. Such was the nature of the man and such were his deeds. The only thing regarded as a blemish that attaches to his character is his turning over the possessions [of the Epirots?] to his soldiers for pillage: for the rest, he showed himself a man not devoid of charm and temperate in good fortune, who was seen to be extremely lucky and at the same time full of wise counsel in dealing with the enemy. As an illustration: he was not cowardly or heedless in waging war against Perseus, but afterward did not assume a pompous or boastful air toward him. (Valesius, p. 613. Zonaras, 9, 24.)

[1] Cp. Livy, XLV, 6.

1. ¶ The Rhodians, who formerly had possessed a vast amount of self-esteem, thinking that they, too, ranked as conquerors of Philip and Antiochus, and were stronger than the Romans, fell into such depths of terror as to despatch an ambassador to Antiochus, king of Syria, and summon Popilius, in whose presence they condemned all those opposed to the Roman policy and then sent such as were arrested to punishment. (Ursinus, p. 382. Zonaras, 9, 24.) Frag. LXVII

2. ¶ The same persons, though they had often sent envoys to them, as frequently as they wanted anything, now ceased to bring to their attention any of the former enterprises, but mentioned only those cases which they could cite pertaining to services once rendered which might be useful in diverting Roman ill-will. They were especially anxious at this time to secure the title of Roman allies. Previously they had refused to accept it. They had wished to inspire some fear in Rome,—for, not being bound to friendship by any oath, they had power to transfer their allegiance at any time,—and furthermore to be courted by such states as from time to time might be engaged in war with that city. But now they were looking to confirm the favor of the Romans and to the consequent honor that was sure to be accorded to them by others. (Ursinus, p. 382. Zonaras, 9, 24.)

¶ Prusias himself entered the senate-house at Rome and covered the threshold with kisses. The senators he termed gods, and worshiped them. Thus, then, he obtained an abundance of pity, though he had fought Frag. LXVIII

Frag. LVIII against Attalus contrary to the Roman decision. It was said that at home, too, whenever their envoys came to him, he worshiped them, calling himself a freedman of the people, and often he would put on a slave's cap. (Ursinus, p. 383. Zonaras, 9, 24.)

Frag. LXIX B. C. 149 (*a. u.* 605) ¶ Scipio Africanus excelled in planning out at leisure the requisite course, but excelled also in discovering at a moment's notice what needed to be done, and knew how to employ either method on the proper occasion. The duties that lay before him he reviewed boldly but accomplished their fulfillment as if with timidity. Therefore by his fearless detailed investigation he obtained accurate knowledge of the fitting action in every emergency, and by his good judgment in doubtful cases met these emergencies safely. Consequently, if he was ever brought face to face with some need that admitted of no deliberation,—as is wont to happen in the contradictions of warfare and the turns of fortune—not even then did he miss the proper course. Through accustoming himself to regard no happening as unreasonable he was not unprepared for the assault of sudden events, but through his incessant activity was able to meet the unexpected as if he had forseen it long before. As a result he showed himself daring in matters where he felt he was right, and ready to run risks where he felt bold. In bodily frame he was strong as the best of the soldiers. This led to one of his most remarkable characteristics: he would devise movements that looked advantageous as if he were merely going to command others, and at

the time of action would execute them as if they had been ordered by others. Besides not swerving from the ordinary paths of rectitude, he kept faith scrupulously not only with the citizens and his acquaintances, but with foreign and most hostile nations. This, too, brought many individuals as well as many cities to his standard. He never spoke or acted without due consideration or through anger or fear, but as a result of the certainty of his calculations he was ready for all chances: he had thought out practically all human possibilities; he never did anything unexpected, but deliberated every matter beforehand, according to its nature. Thus he perceived very easily the right course to follow even before there was any necessity, and pursued it with firmness. B. C. 149 (*a. u.* 605)

These are the reasons, or chiefly these—I should mention also his moderation and amiability—that he alone of men escaped the envy of his peers, or of any one else. He chose to make himself like to his inferiors, not better than his equals, weaker than greater men, and so passed beyond the power of jealousy, which harasses only the noblest men. (Valesius, p. 613. Zonaras, 9, 27.)

Dio in Book 21: "Phameas, despairing of the Carthaginian cause . . . . . (Bekker, Anecd. p. 124, 9a. Zonaras, 9, 27.) Frag. LXX

What age limit, pray, is imposed upon those who from their very boyhood set their faces toward obtaining a right state of mind? What number of years has been settled upon with reference to the fulfillment Frag. LXXI B. C. 148 (*a. u.* 606)

B. C. 148 (*a. u.* 606) of duties? Is it not true that all who enjoy an excellent nature and good fortune both think and do in all things what is right from the very beginning, whereas those who at this age of their life have little sense would never subsequently grow more prudent, even if they should pass through many years? A man may continue to improve upon his former condition as he advances in age, but not one would turn out wise from being foolish, or sensible from being silly. Do not, therefore, put the young into a state of dejection through the idea that they are actually condemned to a state of inability to perform their duties. On the contrary, you ought to urge them to practice zealously the performance of all that they are required to do, and to look for both honors and offices even before they reach old age. By this course you will render their elders better, too,—first, by confronting them with many competitors, and next by making clear that you are going to establish not length of years but innate excellence as the test in conferring positions of command upon any citizens, even more than you do in the case of ordinary benefits.[1] (Mai, p. 547, and also Excerpts from a Florentine MS. of John of Antioch's *Parallela.* Cp. Zonaras, 9, 29.)

[1] These words would appear to be taken from the speech before the senate of some such person as a tribune of the plebs, and to relate either to the consulship of Scipio Æmilianus (B. C. 148) or to the Spanish appointment of Scipio Africanus (B. C. 211), preferably the former.

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